fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate
the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favorable period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God, whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures. The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name, that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal, like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor, like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alternative animal title. Girls' names frequently were compounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized culture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers instructed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned the uses of the household implements and performed minor household chores.[3]

701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
● [776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

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*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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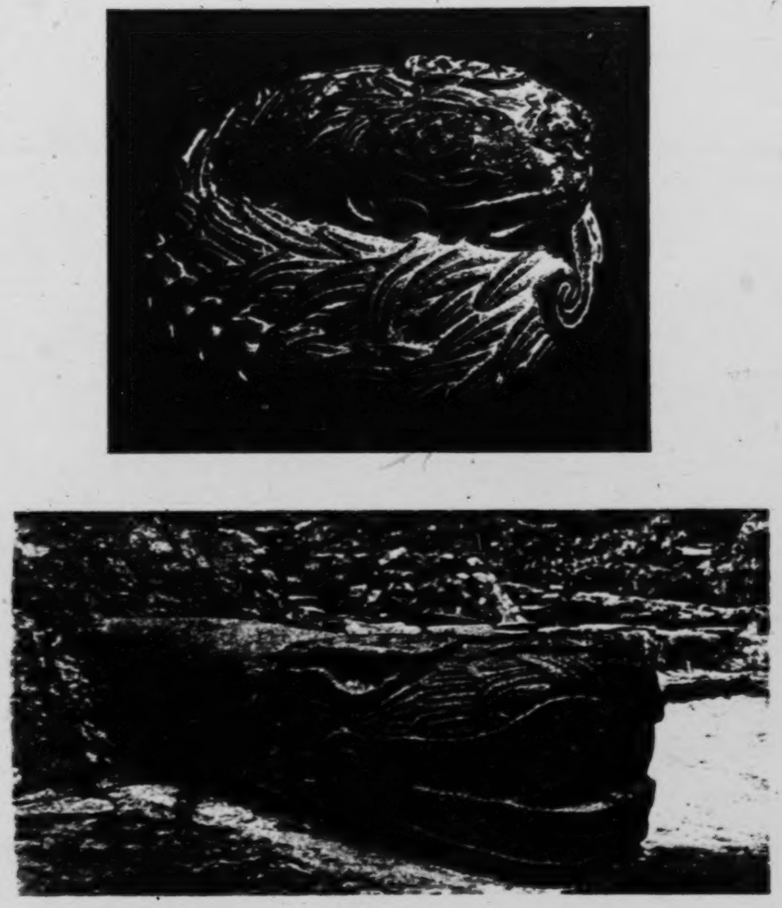

PLATE 53

AZTEC ART

TOP: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. BOTTOM: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tenayuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p. 160(E)]

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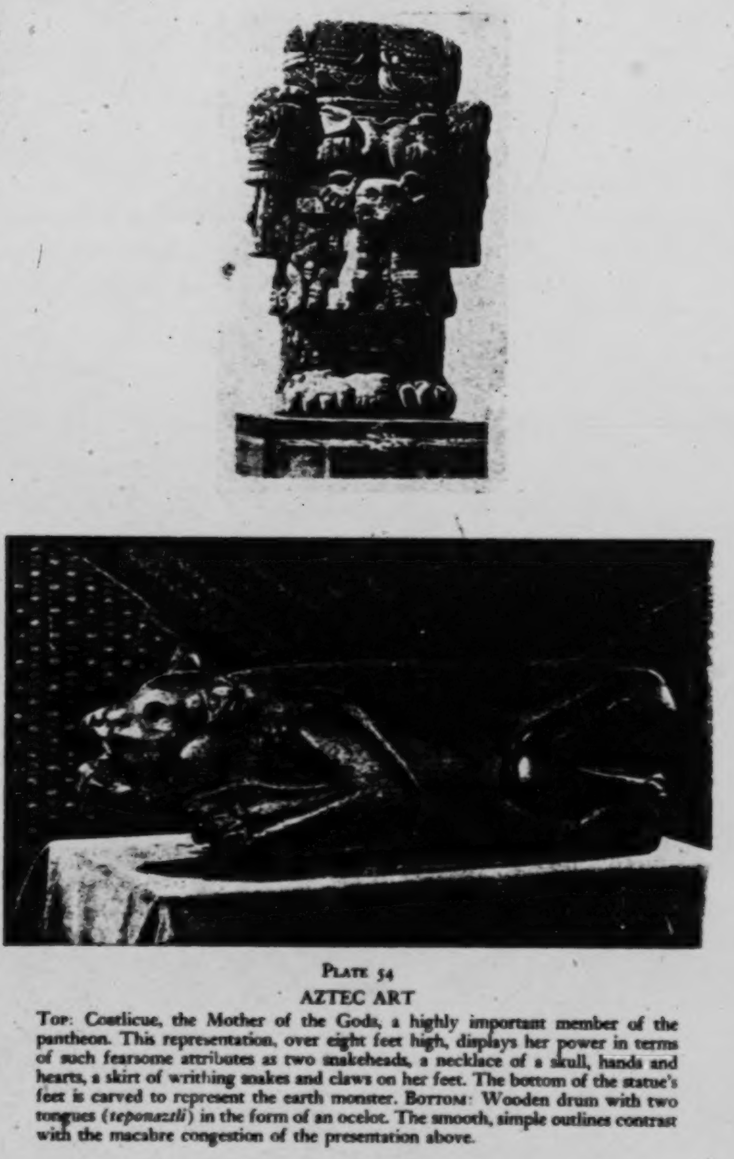

Plate 54

AZTEC ART

Top: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. Bottom: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

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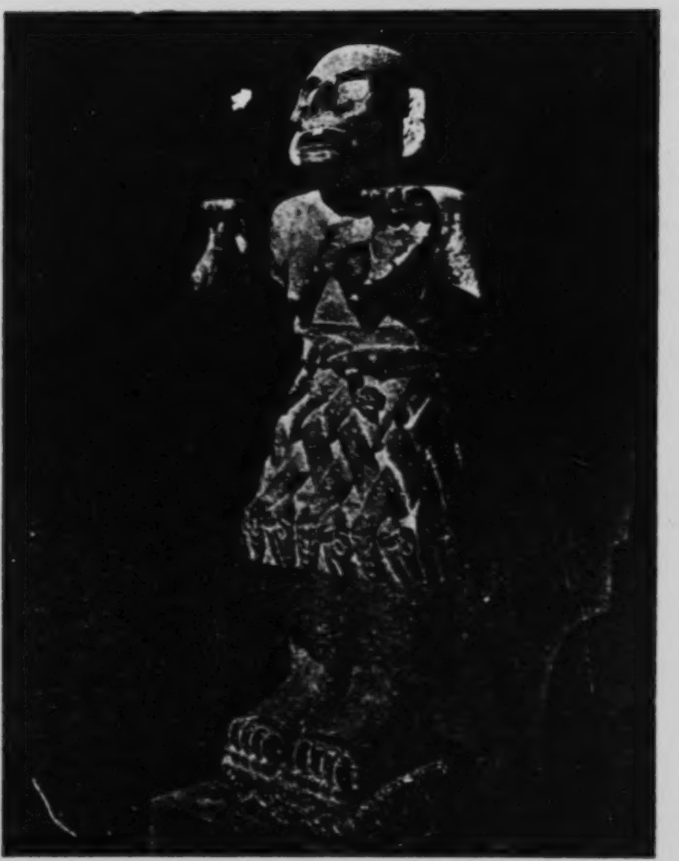

PLATE 55

AZTEC ART

TOP: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. An earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. BOTTOM: *Left:* Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. *Right:* A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," banding the sides of the container.

[p. 160(G)]

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PLATE 56

AZTEC ART

TOP: This Corn Goddess is envisaged as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. BOTTOM: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyolxauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.

[p. 160(H)]

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532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.[8]

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

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322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

● 776
532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

● 776 532 attribute similar attitudes to their gods, and, as a result, the soft emotionalism so characteristic of European art is almost totally absent. Thus Aztec sculpture is even more forbidding and gloomy than other Middle American arts, which have at first a depressing effect on observers accustomed to Old World aesthetics.[9] (See Plates 40, 49, 52–56.)

532 The same sense of proportion so evident in Aztec architecture produced a monumental quality in their sculpture. The smallest piece has the same dignity that attends the most massive temple carvings. A photograph reveals no impression of the original scale, and in one case the head of a goddess was carved identically in a small piece of jade and a four-foot block of basalt, with no loss of plastic or monumental values to either.[10]

In relief sculpture the forming of the object and the disposition and subordination of details show the mastery of design inherited by eyes trained in centuries of weaving. The vast block of the thirteen-foot Calendar Stone is carved with as delicate an appreciation of the relative values of space as similar designs painted on pottery vessels or graven on jade. (See Plate 52.)

532 778 The finest Aztec sculpture, to the Western eye, reproduces the young gods and goddesses that presided over the crops. Thus the Aztec body, long of trunk, short of limb, softly rounded in its well-fleshed strength, is simply and accurately portrayed with passive grace. The patient and resigned features were perfect subjects for the sculptor and his medium. Some gods could assume the guise of animals, and the sculptors took full advantage of their close observation of nature to carve a coyote with ear atilt or to dignify a red basalt grasshopper with the armored malevolence of an insect

771 lessly in human life; night succeeds day; the stations of the year rotate endlessly through spring, summer, fall and winter; the planets move in eternal sequence through the sky. Thus to discover what those rhythms were and follow their complicated but regular beat would, in Aztec philosophy, ensure the happy survival of the community. There was little thought of the perfection of the individual when vast powers hovered close, ready to destroy the whole tribe if it ceased its vigilant watch on nature. Thus rhythm and form become an essential part of worship and found their outlet in ritual and religion, art, philosophy and science.

The growth of civilization, with the resultant ramification of social function and material equipment, led likewise to a more complex perception of the universe, expressed in the stratification of gods and goddesses and a specialization of their functions. This result led to a more intense observance of ritual, which consumed a great part of the material and intellectual product of the tribe.

Aztec religion was an outgrowth of the recognition and fear of natural forces and the attempt to constrain them. The process by which man defines these forces and grades them in order of importance is as much a part of the evolution of culture as art, mechanics or social organization. The Aztecs developed a conception of the relationship of the supernatural forces to the universe that, given the precision of our method of thought, could have been developed into an imposing philosophy.

773 ● 776 According to Aztec belief, the world passed through four or five ages, or Suns. Details differ, but the record on the great Calendar Stone may be taken as the official version in Tenochtitlan. The first era, Four Ocelot, had Tezcatlipoca

as the presiding god, who, at the end, transformed himself 773
into the sun, while jaguars ate up the men and giants who 776
then populated the earth. Quetzalcoatl was the divine ruler of the second era, Four Wind, at the expiration of which hurricanes destroyed the world and men were turned into monkeys. The Rain God, Tlaloc, gave the world light in the third epoch, Four Rain, brought to a close by a fiery rain. Chalchihuitlicue,* "Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt," was a Water Goddess who presided appropriately over the fourth Sun, Four Water, wherein a flood came, transforming men into fish. Our present age, Four Earthquake, is under the control of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, and it will be destroyed, in time, by earthquakes.[2] (See Plate 52.)

While the versions vary from place to place, we seem to 773
have a recapitulation of the great disasters from flood, volcanic eruption, hurricanes and earthquakes that beset the communities of ancient Mexico. Also there is a reflection of the order in which the gods attained prominence in the local worship. In the history of the Mexican tribes there are references to struggles within single towns between the devotees of two cults, as to which would have the mastery.[3]

The universe itself was conceived in a religious rather than 772
a geographic sense and was divided horizontally and verti- 776
cally into areas of religious significance. The horizontal uni- 823
verse, possibly the older concept, recognized five directions, the four cardinal points and the center. The Fire God, old and fundamental in Mexican religion, controlled the central zone. The east was assigned to the Rain God, Tlaloc, and the Cloud God, Mixcoatl (Cloud Snake), and was a region of abundance. In this idea geography was combined with

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*Chal-chee-we'et-le-kway.

772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[5] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

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*Ma-kweel-sho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

● 776 At the head of the Aztec pantheon, in a theological sense, was a supreme and ineffable god, Tloque Nahuaque; but an active cult in his honor seems to have been restricted to a single temple, at Texcoco, which became a center of religious philosophy under ~~the stimulus~~ of the great chief, Nezahualcoyotl. Ranking below this abstraction of divine power and far more widely recognized was a supreme couple, Tonacatecuhtli[*] and Tonacacihuatl,[†] "Our Lord and Lady of Subsistence." These gods were theologically important and fulfilled the functions of parenthood and origin for other divinities. They were not extensively worshiped, since their control of nature was remote. An equivalent being, Ometecuhtli,[‡] "Lord of Duality," occupied an analogous position, resulting from priestly speculation as to the ultimate origin of the gods who controlled man's destiny. The Sun God, Tonatiuh, who also discharged the functions of a heavenly overlord, was, however, more closely associated with the active expression of Aztec religion. The daily appearance of the celestial orb, so infinitely important to the existence of all life, made sun worship an essential part of the Aztec religion.[7]

There were several gods who intervened in human affairs and were venerated above all others. Usually one of this group was the tutelary spirit of a community and had arrogated to him supreme powers. Such a god was honored by the principal temple, synthesized the abstract position of the gods invented by the theologians and partook of all the supreme powers exerted by the chief god of other commu-

[*] To-na-ca-tay-co'o-tli.

[†] To-na-ca-se'e-watl.

[‡] O-may-tay-co'o-tli.

nities. This group, without exception, was composed of sky gods. 776 ●

Tezcatlipoca, the "Smoking Mirror," sometimes appeared on the scene as an adversary of the Toltec divinity Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent." He was widely worshiped, and his powers were shared by other chief gods. His attributes, as depicted in the sacred manuscripts, showed him to be protean, and they were often assigned to the tribal divinities of other places. A Mixtec manuscript, which emanates from the probable center of the Tezcatlipoca cult, shows the same divinity presiding over the four directions but with a different color in each instance. The powers and dress of this great god passed to local tribal divinities with the spread of Mixtec religion and the Tezcatlipoca cult to the Valley of Mexico. (See Plates 57, top; 61, top.)

The red Tezcatlipoca of the west took the name of Xipe, or Camaxtli, the tutelary god of Tlaxcala. Huitzilopochtli, the great War God of the Tenochca, assumed the functions and dress of the blue Tezcatlipoca of the south and was a Sun God as well, but his adversary and opposite divinity of the night retained the name Tezcatlipoca and was shown as the black Tezcatlipoca of the north. Quetzalcoatl was sometimes depicted as a white Tezcatlipoca, associable with the east as a morning star and the west as an evening star. Under the name "Feathered Serpent" but with the attributes and powers of Tezcatlipoca, he presided over the destinies of Cholula. Tezcatlipoca, as god of a favorable region, as surrogate of the sun and as the chief god of the original cult, was the chief divinity worshiped at Texcoco.

Tlaloc, the Rain God, is an ancient god, going back to Toltec times. His eye rings, his fangs and the volute over his

776 lips render him an easily recognized figure in the Mexican pantheon. At Tenochtitlan he shared the great temples with Huitzilopochtli, and his control of rain made the attraction of his powers essential to survival on the Mexican plateau. (See Plate 59, bottom left.)

Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent," God of Civilization and the planet Venus, seems to have been widely venerated but under different guises. In contrast to Tezcatlipoca, whose functions and appearance were assigned to tribal gods with different names, Quetzalcoatl had several forms shared by distinctive divinities. The sculptures of Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza show that a feathered snake was honored, and the local records mention Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan, Nahuatl and Maya names having the same meaning. At Tenochtitlan there is ample evidence of a feathered-serpent cult, but the records refer to Xiuhcoatl,* "Fire Snake," as well as to the standard sacred variety. The term Quetzalcoatl applies as well to a bearded god with a projecting mask, also called Ehecatl, the "Wind God." In parts of the Mixteca-Puebla area and the Valley, as we have seen, there is evidence that the "white" Tezcatlipoca had the name "One Reed," the date name synonymous with Quetzalcoatl.[4] (See Plates 23, 53; 59, bottom left.)

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173 In addition to this confusion over Quetzalcoatl, the God of Civilization, the annals and myths tell of Quetzalcoatl, the great king, who civilized the Toltecs and left for the east to return again. The friars seized upon this myth as evidence that St Thomas the Apostle had visited Mexico and converted its inhabitants, who later slid back into pagan ways. Therefore, the friars, to justify the Conquest, made

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*She'e-oo-co-atl.

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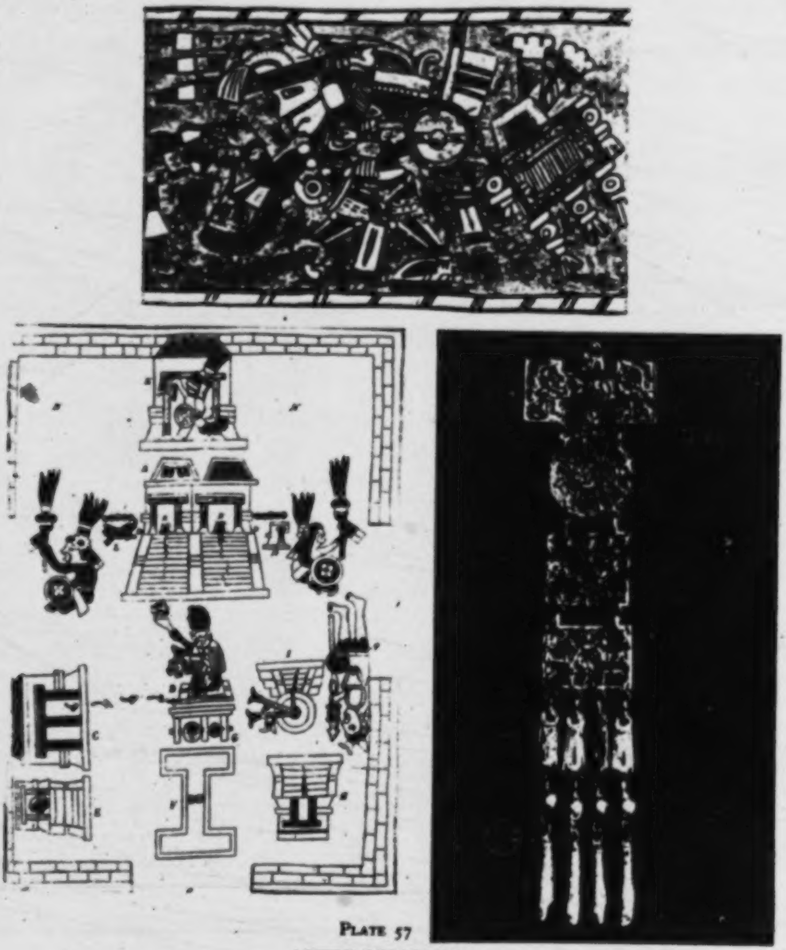

PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. O. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

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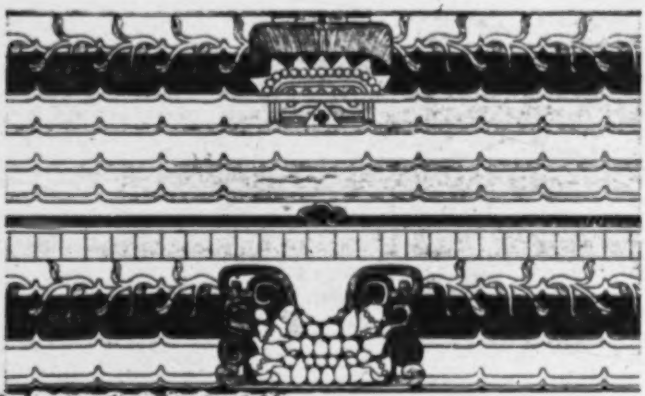

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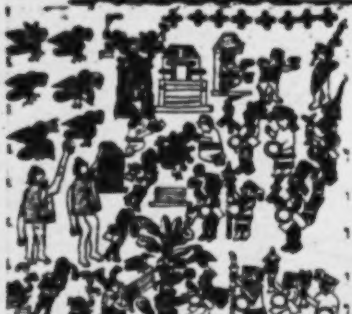
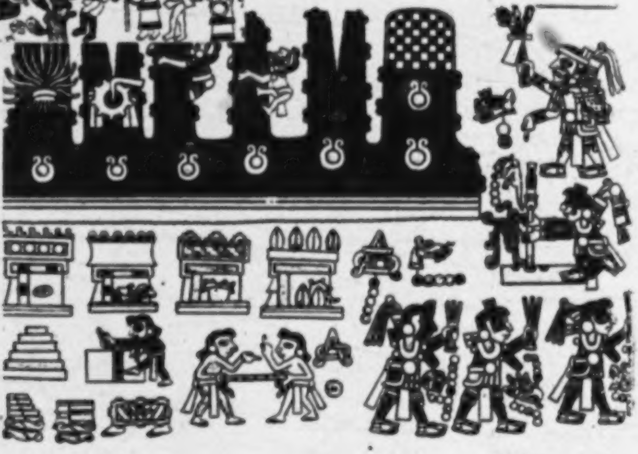


PLATE 58

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Altar at Teotihuacan with symbols of agricultural worship. Note glyph at top center. MIDDLE: Codex Florentino, special ceremony involving gods' descent to earth, with birdmen, snake dancers, rain-gods and priests dressed as the chief gods of the pantheon. BOTTOM: Vienna Codex, scene partly ceremonial and partly historical. Gods, dates, temples, chiefs and fire making are shown.



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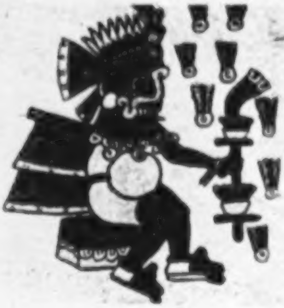

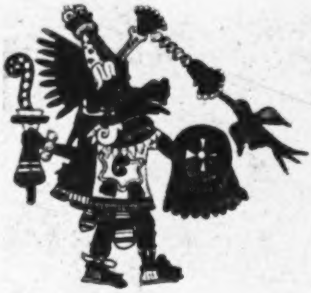

PLATE 59

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Tlaloc, God of Rain. *Right:* Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning, in guise of Ehecatl, God of Wind. BOTTOM: Page from *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus. The goddess Itzpapalotl, presiding over the fifteenth week, One House, is shown in the large division. The broken tree signifies Tamoanchan, a legendary homeland; the house below, with a man on top and the night sign in the door and the spider above, signifies the realm of darkness. The other symbols are offerings. The rectangular divisions refer to the days and their Gods. The day signs and numbers begin at the lower left with One House and end at top left with Thirteen Eagle. A Night God is drawn in each day square, beginning with Piltzintecuhtli and ending with Chalchihuitlicue (Table XVI, 194). The squares above the bottom row and to the right of the vertical row reveal the Gods of the Day Hours and their birds, beginning at the left with Xiuhtecuhtli and ending at the top with Ilamatecuhtli (Table XV).

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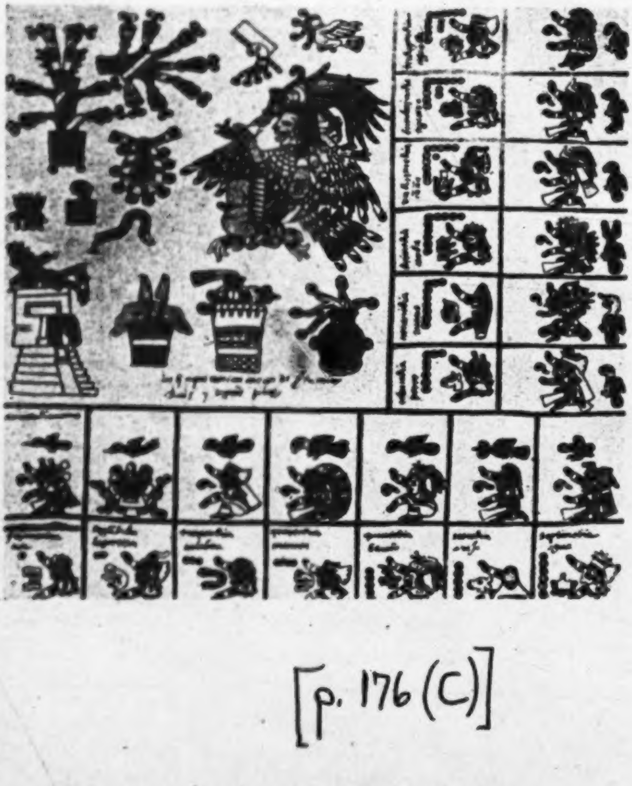

[p. 176 (C)]

● 776 173 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people, promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 174 177 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

● 776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladia-
torial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in
[796 ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of
701] Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca,
likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This
Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec
religion.[*] (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year.
His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this sym-
[796 bolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly
782] flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59,
bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,[*] (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,[†] "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,[‡] "Flower

[*] Chee-co'-me-co-atl.

[†] Shee-lo'-nen.

[‡] Sho-chee-kay-tza'l.

Bird," were the embodied spirits of young growth and, by 776
analogy, youth and the games. These had as male counterparts such gods as Cinteotl, "Maize God," Xochipilli,* "Flower Prince" and Macuilxochitl, "Four Flower," whose functions, identified with growth, youth and games, are almost synonymous. (See Plates 31; 56, top left; 57, bottom left.)

About the maguey plant revolved another cult embracing 776
the goddess Mayauel, who represented the plant and whose 802
four hundred sons were associated with pulque. According 273
to some accounts, the various styles of drunkenness were recorded in terms of these gods or their associated animal, the rabbit. Four hundred rabbits stood for complete drunkenness, while fifteen or twenty suggested mere conviviality. The chief of these pulque gods was called "Two Rabbit," after his day in the almanac, and another, Tepoztecatl, was the tribal god of Tepoztlan, honored by a temple placed high in the mountains of Morelos.

The gods of the earth and death were highly important, 776
since growth takes place in the earth and the dead are received there. The sun on rising seems to be born in the earth and at its setting to be hidden by it, thus passing apparently to the world of the dead. The gods and goddesses associated with the earth had significance for the solar cults as well as for growth and fertility.

Tlaltecuhtli, "Lord of the Earth," was depicted as a male monster of horrifying aspect, partaking of the attributes of
a toad and an alligator. His open mouth could consume even [821]
the sun, since the setting sun passed into the earth, according to Aztec astronomical ideas. The goddesses, however, seem

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*Sho-chee-pe'e-ly.

●776 to have been worshiped more extensively, and the clay images made in their honor also continued in unbroken line the tradition of the Middle Culture figurines. Coatlicue (Our Lady of the Serpent Skirt) was the mother of the gods in their stellar aspect but also was honored as the mother of Huitzilopochtli. The measure of her importance may be gauged by [778] the great statue of her in Mexico which is a masterpiece of sacerdotal art and undoubtedly had a temple to itself. Coatlicue was also represented as a mother carrying a child in her arms. In this guise her function as a mother goddess brought her image into almost every home in the valley. Tonantzin (Our Mother), which may have been an aspect of this same goddess or of Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), had a temple at Tepeyac, now the site of the shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and her cult was transferred to the Virgin by the early missionaries, an act exemplifying their intelligent procedure in evangelizing the Aztecs. A goddess, Tlazolteotl (Eater of Filth), was extensively worshiped and was also synonymously known as the "Mother of the Gods." Primarily an earth-goddess, she, alone of the goddesses, had a moral significance, since in eating refuse she consumed the [783] sins of mankind, leaving them pure. A rite of confession developed in her cult. (See Plates 54–55.)

Standing out from the numerous divinities associated with death were Mictlantecuhtli and Mictlancihuatl,* (Our Lord and Lady of the Region of Death). They wore masks made from human skulls, and their ornaments were either human bones or representations of them. They presided over the northern regions and also ruled the hells below the earth. Theirs was no punitive function, for all who died, save in

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*Meek-tlan-se'e-watl.

war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death 776
to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.)

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, 793
and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon 776
whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a de- 771
vout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him.

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theol- 796
ogy. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time.

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TABLE X

PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE AZTEC PANTHEON, THEIR CHARACTER, AND SPHERES OF WORSHIP

	Month	*Week*	*Day*	*Day Hour*	*Night Hour*
Great Gods					
Huitzilopochtli, Hummingbird Wizard, War and Sun God, chief god of Tenochtitlan	5* 9 15				
Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, chief god of pantheon, solar attributes, chief god of Texcoco	5 12		13 8	10	
Quetzalcoatl, Feathered Serpent, God of Learning and of Priesthood, chief god of Cholula, frequently shown as Ehecatl, the Wind God		2	2	9	
Creative Deities					
Tloque Nahuaque, Lord of the Close Vicinity, creative spirit, theological abstraction					
Ometecuhtli, Lord of Duality, like Tonacatecuhtli and his wife					
Tonacatecuhtli, Lord of Our Subsistence, Creator God, chief of the gods		1	1		
Tonacacihuatl, Lady of Our Subsistence, wife of the above					
Fertility Gods					
Tlazolteotl, Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother, worshiped under many synonyms	11	13	14	5	7
Teteoinnan, Mother of the Gods, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Ixcuina, Four Faces, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Toçi, Our Grandmother, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Chicomecoatl, Seven Snake, Corn Goddess, ancient goddess dating from Middle Culture times	4 11				
Cihuacoatl, Serpent Woman, Earth Goddess, ruling childbirth and death thereby					
Tonantzin, Our Mother, synonym of Cihuacoatl					
Coatlicue, Serpent Skirt, Earth Goddess, associated with spring, mother of Huitzilopochtli					
Cinteotl, Corn God, son of Tlazolteotl, husband of Xochiquetzal, important				(12) (7)	4
Xochiquetzal, Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers, of Craftsmen, important		19	20	(13)	
Xochipilli, Flower Prince, God of Pleasure, Feasting, Frivolity			11	(3) 7	
Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, synonym of Xochipilli					

*The numbers refer to the *Tonalamatl* of the *Codex Borbonicus*. Those in parentheses refer to variations found in the *Tonalamatl Aubin* and the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

	Month	*Week*	*Day*	*Day Hour*	*Night Hour*
Xipe, Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime and Planting, the red Tezcatlipoca, highly important	2	14	15	(11) (4)	
Xilonen, Young Maize Mother, Goddess of the Young Corn	8				
Ilamatecuhtli, the Old Princess, a goddess of ancient times, related to corn and the earth	17			13	
GODS OF RAIN AND MOISTURE					
Tlaloc, He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God, very important	6 13	7	7	8	(8) 9
Tlaloques, minor rain gods, children or brothers of Tlaloc, a plural synonym	3 1 16				
Chalchihuitlicue, She of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess, very important	1	5	5	3	6
Huixtocihuatl, Salt Woman, Goddess of Salt and of the Dissolute	7				
Napatecuhtli, Four Times Lord, one of the Tlalocs					
Ehecatl, Wind, Wind God, a frequent guise of Quetzalcoatl					
FIRE GODS					
Xiuhtecuhtli, Lord of the Year, Fire God, a divinity of ancient times, important	18 10	20 9	9	(7) 1	1
Huehueteotl, Old God, a synonym of Xiuhtecuhtli					
Chantico, In the House, goddess associated with the hearth and volcanic fire		18	19		
PULQUE GODS					
Mayauel, She of the Maguey Plant, Goddess of the Maguey and also of Fertility		8	8		
Patecatl, He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine, husband of Mayauel		11	12		
Tezcatzontecatl, Straw-Covered Mirror, an important pulque god, identifiable with the Chac Mool figures in stone					
Centzon Totochtin, Four Hundred Rabbits, the many pulque gods					
PLANETARY AND STELLAR GODS					
Tonatiuh, the Sun, Sun God with intimate connections with Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca				4	
Piltzintecuhtli, Young Prince, synonym of Tonatiuh					3
Metztli, the Moon, Moon God, sometimes identified with Tezcatlipoca					
Tecciztecatl, He from the Sea Snail, synonym of Metztli		6	6		(5)
Mixcoatl, Cloud Serpent, God of Stars and of Numbers	14				
Camaxtli, god of Tlaxcala, synonym of Mixcoatl, a War God					

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

	Month	*Week*	*Day*	*Day Hour*	*Night Hour*
Itzpapalotl, Obsidian Knife Butterfly, stellar and also agricultural goddess		15	16		
Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus, the morning star, variant of Quetzalcoatl		9		(1) (12)	
Coyolxauhqui, Painted with Bells, Moon Goddess, sister of Centzon Huitznaua					
Centzon Huitznaua, 400 Southerners, star gods of south					
Centzon Mimixcoa, 400 Northerners, star gods of north					
Tzitzimime, Monsters Descending from Above, stellar gods					
GODS OF DEATH, EARTH					
Mictlantecuhtli, Lord of Region of Death, God of Death		10	10	11	5
Mictecacihuatl, Lady of Region of Death, wife of Death God					
Tepeyollotl, Heart of the Mountains, Mountain God, Jaguar God		3	3		8
Tlaltecuhtli, Lord of Earth, earth monster, personification of earth in contrast to sun				2	
Teoyaomiqui, God of Dead Warriors, a specialized Death God				6 (6)	
Huahuantli, the Striped, synonym of Teoyaomiqui					
VARIANTS OF GREAT GODS					
Itzli, Stone Knife, a surrogate of Tezcatlipoca in guise of sacrificial knife		20			2
Itzlacoliuhqui, Curved Obsidian Knife, another variant of Tezcatlipoca		12	(13)		
Paynal, the Hasty, messenger of Huitzilopochtli					
Yacatecuhtli, Lord Who Guides, God of Traveling Merchants	15 12				
Chalchiuhtotolin, Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca		17	(18)		
Yaotl, Enemy, synonym of Tezcatlipoca				(5)	
OTHER GODS					
Xolotl, Double, Monster God, twin of Quetzalcoatl		16	17		
Ixtlilton, Little Black Face, God of Health and Cures from Ills				(2)	
Cihuateteô, Goddesses, witches, spirits of women dead in childbirth					
Huehuecoyotl, Old Coyote, backbiter or mischief-maker, god of Otomi		4	4		

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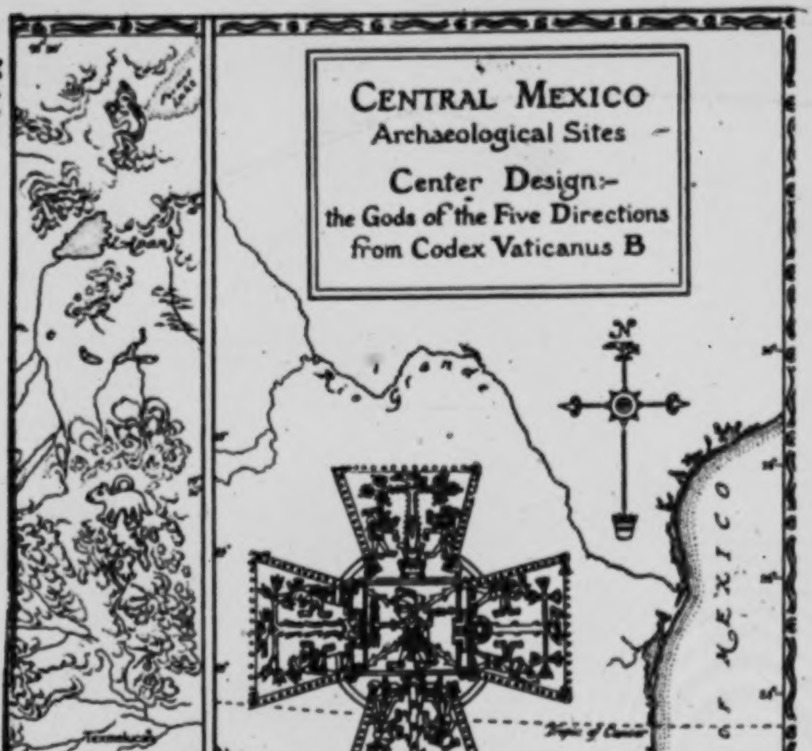
CENTRAL MEXICO
Archaeological Sites
Center Design:-
the Gods of the Five Directions
from Codex Vaticanus B
N
Rio Grande
Tropic of Cancer
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
The Aztec Domain
Tampico
Tula
Toluca
Vera Cruz
Tres Zapotes
La Venta
Monte Alban
Mitla
Teotihuacan
from Cholula
MILES
Bradley . 1941

[END PAPER MAP (B)]

De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

First Chapter, which telleth of the highest gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Uitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a madman, a deceiver,[3] a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague—that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The merchants bathed them.[5]

And he was thus arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue cotinga feathers;[6] he had the fire serpent disguise, the blue netted cloth,[7] the arm band.[8] He wore rattles and shells.[9]

Second Chapter, which telleth of the god named He who Hasteneth (Paynal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Paynal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy"; because he represented Uitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Paynal, because he pressed on and urged them ahead.[10]

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

Jnic ce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn oc cenca tlapanauja teteuh: yn qujmoteutiaia, yoan yn qujtlamanjliaia, yn ie vecauh. 776

Vitzilubuchtli: çan macevalli, çan tlacatl catca: naualli, tetzaujtl, atlacacemelle, teixcuepanj: qujiocoianj in iaoiutl, iaotecanj, iaotlatoanj:

ca itechpa mjtoaia, tepan qujtlaça yn xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli, q. n. iaoiutl, teuatl, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtiloia, malmjcoaia, tlaaltilmjcoaia: tealtiaia, yn pochteca. [796]

Auh ynjc muchichioaia: xiuhtototenacoche catca, xiuhcoanaoale, xiuhtlalpile, matacaxe, tzitzile, oiooalle.

Jnic vme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca paynal: yn qujmoteutiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia ie uecauh. 776 796

Paynal: motepatillotianj, moteixiptlatianj: tepan mixeoanj: ichica ca qujmixiptlatiaia, in vitzilubuchtli, yn iquac tlaiacaloia, motocaiotia paynal: ipampa ca cenca, qujtototzaia, qujmotlalochtiaia. [551]

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[1] The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: "*Capitulo primero, que habla, del principal dios. . . .*"

[2] Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 423, refers to him as *nur ein Stammesheros.*

[3] Seler thus phrases the passage: "Uitzilopochtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked rogue, one who deluded the people with visions."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 4.

[4] *Cf.* Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 229. ". . . *of him it is related that he throws the xiuhcoatl and the firedrum, i. e., war, water (spear-throwing) and fire at the people*" (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 218). *Cf.* also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, ". . . *nuestro dios Vitzilopuchtli usaba de dos cosas para contra sus enemigos para aterrarlos y desbaratarlos; la una se llama xiuhcoatl, y la otra mamalhoaztli . . . y él tenía por cetro real en la mano una culebra hecha de mosaico, que llaman xiuhcoatl, no derecha sino tortuosa o combada, y aquélla, siendo vivo, como nigromántico en las batallas como quien arrojaba tiro la echaba sobre los enemigos con que los espantaba y hacía huir.*"

[5] The meaning (*cf. maltia*) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to bathe or anoint (*cf.* Sahagún, *op cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 370, 384).

[6] *Cf. Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 184. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 425) identifies the bird as *Cotinga cincta s. coerulea*, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a mosaic pattern. Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 699, calls the bird *Harharum avis* (Hern.).

[7] Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 426. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 379, suggests that such an article of clothing was sometimes worn about the hips.

[8] Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223, and Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 144, and Vol. II, p. 380, say the arm-band was provided with a hole or a cord, to insert a decoration. In the Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines matacaxtli as "*pellejo de bestia fiera, a manera del manipulo, que se usa en la misa.*" *Cf.* also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 40), who says that it is the same as quetzalmapanitl. See Illus. of Uitzilopochtli.

[9] *The MS Biblioteca del Palacio reads tzitzilli, oyoualli, in icxic—an indication that they were worn on the calves of the legs.—Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.

[10] *Sahagún (Florentine Codex, corresponding Spanish text) describes Paynal as ligero apresurado.*

776 796 And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling, howling, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

[778] And one man carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather head-ornament in the manner of coastal people. Bars were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. His was the humming-bird disguise. He had the breast-mirror; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

776 [796] **Third Chapter,** which telleth of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, rulership, nobility, honor.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the priest.[13]

Tlaloc the priest. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a sleeveless cloud-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also rattles. He had a plaited-reed banner.[16]

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Auh in macevalti, qujtocaia, qujtlalochtocaia, coioujtiuja, quicaoatztiuja, teuhtli quiquetztiuja, tlalli qujpopocatztiuja: iuhqujn tlaiiopiqujqujn, tlalli tetecujca:

auh ce tlacatl qujnapalotiuja.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, tlaquemjtiuja, quetzalapanecaiotl, in cuextecatiuja, ixnecalichioale, ixtlaltichioale, mixcitlalichioale, xiuhiacamjie, vitzitzilnaoale, eltezcae, xiuhchimale.

Jnic ey, capitulo, vncan mjtoa in teutl, yn jtoca tezcatlipoca: in qujmoteutiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia, in vecauh.

Tezcatlipoca: ynin vel teutl ipan machoia, noujian ynemjian: mictla, tlalticpac, ylhujcac. In jquac nemja tlalticpac, ischoatl qujiolitiaia, in teuhtli tlaçolli: cecoc teupouhquj, qujnemjtiaia,

teiaotl, necoc iautl motocaiotiaia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necoc iautl, muchi qujiocoiaia, qujtemoujaia, qujtecaujltiaia, qujtecujtiaia yn jxqujch aqualli ipan mochioaia: teca manjltiaia, tequequeloaia.

Auh in quenman, qujmomacaia, in necujltonolli: in tlaçapijtl, in oqujchiotl, in tiacauhiotl, in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiotl, in pillotl, in mauiçotl.

Jnjc nauj capitulo, vncan mjtoa yn teutl, yn jtoca tlaloc, tlamacazquj.

Tlaloc, tlamacazquj: ynjn ipan machoia, in qujiaujtl: ca ichoatl qujchioaia, qujtemoujaia, qujpixoaia, in qujiaujtl, yoan in teciujtl: quiçoçalatiaia, qujtzmolinaltiaia, qujmoxiuitiaia, quicueponaltiaia, quicualtiaia in quaujtl, in çacatl, in tonacaiotl. Yoan no itech tlamjloia, in tetlaquijllatli, in tlatlatzinjlli.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, tlaixtlilpopotzalli, tlaixolhujlli, molilloque, ixmjchiuauhio, ixmjchioaoale, mixchaioale, aiauhxicole, aztatzone, chalchiuhcozque, popolcaque, no tzitzile, aztapilpane.

Jnic macujlli capitulo, vncan mjtoa yn teutl, yn jtoca quetzalcoatl.

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[11] After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

[12] Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 44) defines it as a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the xicolli (jacket) and the quetzalquemitl (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

[13] Seler (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 46) says that *tlamacazqui* and *tlamacazque* mean "priest" and "priests." He himself translates *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as "*Regengott . . . . Regenpriester,*" in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Caecilie Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

[14] Seler (*loc. cit.*): "*im Gesicht eine Bepinselung mit flüssigem Kautschuk.*"

[15] *Cf.* Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 107; see also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 443-4.

[16] *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 141.

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Quetzalcoatl—he was the wind, the guide and road-sweeper of the rain gods,[17] of the masters of the water, of those who brought rain. And when the wind rose, when the dust rumbled, and it crackled and there was a great din, and it became dark and the wind blew in many directions, and it thundered; then it was said: "[Quetzalcoatl] is wrathful."

And thus was he bedight: he had a conical[18] ocelot-skin cap. His face was thickly smeared with soot. He was adorned with [spiral] wind and mesquite symbols.[19] He had a curved, turquoise mosaic ear-pendant.[20] He wore a gold neckband of small sea-shells.[21] He had the quetzal-pheasant as a burden on his back. He had ocelot anklets with rattles. He wore a cotton bone[-ribbed] jacket.[22] He carried the shield with the wind-shell design.[23] He had the curved [inlaid] spear-thrower[24] and also foam sandals.

Quetzalcoatl: yn ehecatl ynteiacancauh yntlachpancauh in tlaloque, yn aoaque, yn qujqujiauhti. Auh yn jquac molhuja eheca, mjtoa: teuhtli quequalaca, ycoioca, tetecujca, tlatlaiooa, tlatlalpitza, tlatlatzinj, motlatlaueltia.

Auh yuja yn muchichioaia: ocelocopile, mjxtlilpopotz, hecacehioale, mizqujnechioale, teoxiuhcanacoche, teucujtlacuechcozque, quetzalcoxollamamale, ocelotzitzile, icpatomjcicujle, hecacozcachimale, hecaujque, no poçulcaque.

Sixth Chapter: here are noted the greatest goddesses who were worshipped as idols, whom the natives falsely revered as gods.

The savage Snake-woman (Cioacoatl), ill-omened and dreadful,[25] brought men misery. For it was said: "She giveth men the hoe and tump-line. Thus she forceth men [to work]."

And when she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady, with obsidian ear-plugs. She was in white, having garbed herself in white, in pure white. Her tightly wound hairdress rose like two horns above her head.

By night she walked weeping and wailing, a dread phantom foreboding war.[26]

And in this wise was her image adorned: her face was painted one-half red, one-half black.[27] She had a head-dress of [eagle] feathers[28] and golden ear-plugs. She wore a

Injc chiquacë capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn oc cenca tlapanauja yn cioateteu: yn qujmoteutiaia, in qujmoteutlapiqujaia yn njcan tlaca.

Cioacoatl tequanj: yoan tetzaujtl, tetetzaujanj, ic mociuh qujteittitia: ca mjtoaia, victli mecapalli, qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia.

Auh ynjc moteittitiaia, motenextiliaia: iuhqujn tecpan cioatl, nanacoche, itznacoche, iztaian moquetza, iztaian actica, iztacatla ycaia, iztaticac, vel panj qujquetza yn jcoatlacal, yn jaxtlacujl,

ioaltica chocatinemj, tecoiouhtinemj, no iaotetzaujtl catca.

Auh yuj yn muchichioaia yxiptla, yn jxaiac, centlacochichiltic, centlacotliltic, yujquetzone, teucujtlanacoche, quechqueme, xiuhtotocaque.

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[17] Cf. Eduard Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., 1901), pp. 42-3; and Juan de Torquemada: *Monarquia indiana*, Vol. II, pp. 47 and 52. The connection between Quetzalcoatl and the Tlalocs is illustrated in this passage (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 283): "*Esta gente atribuía el viento a un dios que llamaban Quetzalcoatl, bien así como dios de los vientos. Sopla el viento de cuatro partes del mundo por mandamiento de este dios, según ellos decían; de la una parte viene de hacia el oriente donde ellos dicen estar el paraíso terrenal al cual llaman Tlalocan, (y) a este viento le llamaban tlalocáyotl; no es viento furioso, cuando él sopla no impide (a) las canoas andar por el agua.*"

[18] Conical shape is not specifically implied; but the definition of *copilli* in Siméon *(op. cit.)* is *mitre*. Furthermore, the conical cap is a distinguishing trait of Quetzalcoatl.

[19] Wind-painting, according to Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 435; see also pp. 436 and 437). Parts of the costume, as illustrated, hint of the wind-design—the rounded edges of the mantlet, for instance. *Mizquitl* cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

[20] Eduard Seler (*ibid.*, p. 459) calls it "*den dornig gekrümmten Ohrpflock.*" In corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, writing more fully than in the Aztec text, says: "*Tenía, unas orejeras, de turquesas, de labor mosaico. . . .*" The word *teoxiuitl* means turquoise used in mosaic work (Siméon, op. cit.).

[21] The corresponding Spanish text of Sahagún reads: "*traía un collar de oro, de que colgaban, unas caracolitos mariscos, preciosos.*"

[22] See Eduard Seler, op. cit., p. 455.

[23] Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has "*una rodela, con una pintura, con cinco angulos: que llaman, el joel de viento.*" The term *ecacozcachimalli* may be translated more literally as "shield with pendant shell" design. A bisected shell design usually hangs as a breast shield on representations of Quetzalcoatl; this same design appears on the shield. (See *Tonalamatl of Codex Borbonicus*.)

[24] Corresponding Spanish text says: "*un como empuñadura de espada.*"

[25] Cf. also *tetzauhcoatl*, species of snake mentioned by Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 286), so named because "*mata con espanto.*"

[26] This is explained in *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 281, 284.

[27] See illustration, which indicates that the part of the face below the nose is black.

[28] Seler translates this as eagle feathers. His citations from the Hymn of Cioacoatl are convincing. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 59.

776 cape-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[29] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[30] men's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[31] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[32] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

[759] She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were physicians, leeches, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

[791] Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[33]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

776
796 And when there was a feast, when it was time for the slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They solaced her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They hid [her fate] from her;[34] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they battled; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huaxtecs,[35] who accompanied him on either side.

Jnic chicome capitulo: vncan motenehoa, yn cioateutl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: iehoatl ipan mjxeoaia, qujmjxiptlatiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in çaço tlein ynenca, yiolca macevalli, ynjoa, ynqualo.

Auh yuhqui ynnechichioale catca; ixtlauhxoale, amacale, axochiavipile, axochiacueie, xo poçolcaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

Jnic chicuei, capitulo: vncã motenehoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca: Teteu ynna: no motocaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toçi.

Jnin catca yn teteu, qujmoteutiaia, in titici, in teitzmjnque, teixmanque, tetlanoqujlique, teixpatique.

Auh yn cioa, temjxiujtique, tepillalilique, tetlatlaçalique, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaolchaiauhque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No iehoantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temaçcaleque; ypampa y, quitlaliliaia yn jxiptla, in temaçcalixpan, qujtocaiotiaia, temaçcalteci.

Auh yn jquac, in ie ilhujqujxtililoia, in ie imjqujztequjppa: in iehoantin titici, yn jxiptla catca teteu ynna, qujtlaocolpopoloaia, amo vel chocaia, quetlaqujxtiaia, qujtlanenectiaia, qujtlacemoqujltiaia, qujcecelciaia, haqujchoctlania, qujtlatlaiecoltiaia, monjqujquequeloaia, qujnecaltitiaia, qujmochioaia, qujtlacacochililiaia, oniaiaia, tlacimecaiiloia, tetlacimmecoia, tetlauhtiloia: in qujmjlhuica mochioaia in tiacaoa, ic qujtitiqujaia, ic qujpopotonjaia, qujmotlacujlitiuja, ic panj moqujetzaia.

Auh yn jquac omjc, yn jxiptla: njman ce tlacatl onmaqujaia, yn jeoaio, ynnepantla oalmoquetzaia, vmentin ycuexoa, qujtojaia, qujmotlacocotiuja:

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[29] See Plate 29, which explains the name.

[30] Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

[31] Cf. Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.

[32] Although Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 444) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to [illegible]. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

[33] Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K. "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 235-54.

[34] *Cf.* also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 176.

[35] Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 6. *Cf.* also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 178, referring to the Toçi festival: "*dos delante de ellos aquellos sus devotos que se llaman huaxtecas.*"

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They went naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Toci's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Teteo innan] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, pointed eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, *tatoicxitl*. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

Ninth Chapter, in which one heareth of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made turpentine.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was eaten, [it was used for] the *tortilla-sickness*.[41]

Its oil and its heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the turpentine unguent bought slaves and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried poppy-seed pods,[43] and they rattled bone rattles.

Thus was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were spattered over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble corn-tassels. She carried the mist-rattleboard.[44]

motiçaiuique, motlotlouitzoque, çan pepetlauhtiuj, in 776
momecamaxtli: amacalli in qujmama, malinalacaqueçalle, 796
ichcaxochio, hiujqueçalle:

[302]

vmpa concaoa, in tocititlan: quauhtlapechco contlaliaia yn 776
jeoaio.

Auh ynic nechichioale, motenolçopi, tlatzapuchtli qujmotlatlalili yn jcamapã ichcaxochioa, çoiatemale, cuechcueie, mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycue, citlalcueie, quavivih, tetzaliuhquj yn juipil, quauhtzetzaliuhquj, iztac quavihujo, quauhteuitaço; yn jchimal, teucujtlaytixapo, toc[illegible]ctiio, popoa, inquja.

Inic chicunauj capitulo: vncan motenehoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca Tzaputla tena.

Ce cioatl, ipan mjtoaia, yn oxitl ynacaio muchioaia:

776
quipaleuja yn tenacaio, yn aqujn quaxoxociuj, tozca- 278
mjiaoaciuj, motozcaoaciuja: chaquachiuj, quaçoçoti, xotza- 757
ianj, tentzaianj, ixtetzçonauj, matetzçonauj, icxitzatzaianj,
yoan in çaua, yn tlaxcalicivj:

yn jchiuaca yn jçonal vel mieccan monequj.

Auh yn jquac ilhujquixtiloia, yn oxinamacaque, motlaco- 776
coujaia, tlacamjctiaia, qujtzonalloltiaia yn jxiptla, qujcujca- 796
tiaia, yn iveveioan, qujteponaçilhujaia, caiocoaçomjlia, caiomjtequjlia, caiacachilhuja, comjchicaoacilhuja.

Inic nechichioale omexaoale, amacale, olchachapanquj, tlaolchipinilli yn jamacal, yoan quetzalmjiaoaio, aiochicaoaz.

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[36] See Plate 8.

[37] Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 182, [illegible].

[38] Cf. text and illus. in MS Biblioteca del Palacio, cited in Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 468-9, in which these are described as a head-band of unspun cotton.

[39] ". . . *una manera, de bubas, o sarna, que nace, en la cabeça*" (corresponding Spanish text).

[40] ". . . *otra enfermedad . . . casi mismo, que nace en la cabeça que es como bubas*" (loc. cit.).

[41] See p. 41, n. 130.

[42] Cf. Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (México: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

[43] "*Ayacachtli. sonajas hechas a manera de dormideras*" (Molina, op. cit.).

[44] Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 474; and *Einige Kapitel*, p. 7—*Nebel-Rasselbrett* (cloud-rattleboard). The same author, cited in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("*Los cantares de los dioses*"), says: "*Esta voz (ayochicauaztli) significa evidentemente lo mismo y, merced a una leve variación en el modo de pronunciar, tomó origen de ayauhchicauaztli. Servía el instrumento para encantamiento de la lluvia. . . .*" (pp. 47-8) ("*El chicauaztli, báculo de sonajas, instrumento musical que traen en la mano los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la Etzalqualiztli, llevan delante el ayauhchicauaztli, sonaja de niebla. Es el instrumento mágico, con que*

776 **Tenth Chapter,** which telleth of the goddesses [called] the Princesses (Ciuapipiltin).[45]

[753] These were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They hate people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and contended with the Ciuapipiltin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Ciuapipiltin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

776 796 And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of soft, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzoalli*, butterfly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotlaxcalli*, [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*xonecuilli*),[46] small tamales called *xocuichtlamatzoalli*,[47] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

776 And they were thus bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with painted figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Eleventh Chapter: which telleth of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god[dess]; her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She upset the canoe, she emptied it; she lifted it, tossed it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it heaved to and fro; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it splasheth like the stamping of feet; the water striketh the shore, spraying water and foaming."

Jnic matlactli, capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa, yn cioateteu, cioapipilti:

Diablome catca y, macujltin, teme yn jnixiptlaoan; intech tlamjlhuja, qujlmach tetlaueliaia, teca mocaiaoa, ynjc aca itech qujnecoaia tlaueliloc ati, tennecujliuj, ixnecujliuj, matzicoliuj, icxicopichauj, icxiimjmjquj, momacuecuetza, tenqualacquiça: ic mjtoaia omotenamjcti, ypan oqujcuepque cioapipilti, vmaxac chaneque. Jpampa y yn tetaoa, anoço tenaoa, qujmilhujaia yn jnpilhoan: maca xonqujqujça tlalpan aci, temo in cioapipilti.

Auh ipampa y, yn iquac ynjlhujuh, ynjc qujntlamanjliaia: tlamatzoalli, papalotlaxcalli, xonecujli, xocuichtlamatzoalli, izqujtl.

Auh yn vncan momana y, in quenman vncan yn cioateucalco, in quenman, vmaxac.

Auh yn jnnechichioal catca, mjxtiçauique: auh panj tlaolxaoalti, tlaitzcopeoaltectli, tlaitzcopeoalli, yn jnmamatlaquen, potzocacaqueque.

Jnic matlactli vce capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue: iehoatl yn atl.

Teutl ipan machoia: ihuiqujn cioatl qujxiptlatiaia, auh mjtoaia, qujlmach yuan pouj, inveltiuh in tlaloque:

ynic mauiztililoia, ynic imacaxoia, ynjc mauhcaittoia, ynjc tlamauhtiaia, temictiaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia, teipan poçonja, moteponaçoa, maxixicotia, teipan momalacachoa, ynjc teatlanjujuja:

yn acalli qujcuepa, qujtlapachcuepa, qujoatiquetza, ca atl maiauj, ca tema.

Auh in quemma tlapachoa, teapotzauja, mocuecueia, tiicujca xaxamacatimanj, cocomocatimanj, hatlacamanj:

yn iquac ocetoh, yn ie cemj, auh iniauh: qujtoa, mauiltia, tzitzinpjpiliuj, cocomotzauj, anoço itech onmotlatlaçoa, onmochachaqoanja, mapopoçoqujllotia.

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to have descended there. . . . *El chimalli es el par símbolo de la fertilidad y, sin duda, también instrumento mágico con que se obtiene ésta*" (pp. 129-30).

[45] See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 324-5; Vol. II, pp. 181-5. Seler (Collected Works, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 38, and pt. 3, p. 100, and Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 69, 80) ibid., holds that Ciuapipiltin (the princesses) are the same as Ciuateteo (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (mocihuaquetzque) or on the sacrificial stone, and hence were the equivalents of warriors killed in battle or offered up in sacrifice. Seler describes them as special earth-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were arrayed in certain warriors' symbols—eagle feathers and down sandals, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to incite men to sin and crime.

[46] An S-shaped cake, made to resemble lightning.—Seler, op. cit., Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 47.

[47] Painted tortillas in the form of squash-flowers, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 8.

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework: they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlalocs, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattimanj, atezcatitimanj, 776
petlantimanj, cuecueiocatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtililoia, çan no iquac yn etzalqua- 796
liztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia tlaloque,
[805]

colotli in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcueitiaia, qujujpiltiaia,
qujcozcatiaia, cozcapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujtla- [778]
comalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh,
yiauhtli, ixpan qujtepevilia,

caiochicacoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque,
ycujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in [567]
qujcoaia, ichoan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc
motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apantlaca: [463]
yoan acalquetzque tianquizco, in qujtechieltia atl.

No iuh qujchichioaia, no iuh qujtlamamacaia, no iuh qujcencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan inteupan, tlaloque, queltetequja.

Jn jquac y, no cenca qujmauiztiliaia, yn motecuçuma: ixpan tlenamacoia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacotonjlia,

iuh qujtoaia: qujiauhtlatlanj in tlacatl, qujtlamacehuja yn jmaceoal: yoan vncan mocnelilmati, ynjc qujmahujztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn ixqujch tetech monequj.

No iuh qujmauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla iztatl, ytoca Vixtocioatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjtti:

ca vel ynenca muchioa in maceoalli, ic vellamati, ic vel 776
nemj.

Auh yujn, in muchichioaia: motzaoaia, texotica, motenujltec, mixtexotenujltec, mixcoçalhuj, chalchiuhcozque, xiuhnacoche, texoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaie, atlacujlolhvipile, atlacujlolhuiujpile, atlacujlolcueie, atlacueçonmanchimale, aiochicaoaçe, cacalaca; poçulcaque.

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[48] Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "*este etzalli era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210): "*el maiz cocido por si solo llamanle pazolly pero a causa de revolverlo con frijol (etl) le llaman etzally.*"

[49] Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: "*. . . la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienē sus granjerias, en el agua: como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaza. . . .*"

[50] Corresponding Spanish text: "*. . . porque dezian, que estas tres diosas: mantenian, a la gente popular: para que pudiessen, vivir, y multiplicar.*"

[51] Corresponding Spanish text: "*. . . la pintavan, la cara, con color amarillo. . . .*"

[52] Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenja en la mano, derecha, vn vaso, con vna cruz: hecho a manera, de la custodia, en que se lleva el sacramento, quando van a olio la llevan y era como cetro, desta diosa.*" See p. 5, note 44. See also Illustrations of Chalchiuhtli ycue and Tzapotlan tenan.

● 776 Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteutl).[53]

Tlaçolteutl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteutl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocutzin (the youngest sister).[54] These four women, it was said, were god[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteteu).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[55] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; [783] one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteutl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green and yellow waters.[56]

[783] And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteutl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

793 And her warden[57]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[58]

Jnic matlactli vmome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteutl.

In tlaçolteutl: yoan itoca ixcujna, yoan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic motocaiotia tlaçolteutl, qujl ipampa, qujl ichoatl yiaxca, ytlatqui, ytech pouj, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli: in qujtoznequj, avilnemjliztli, qujl ipan tecuti, ypan tlatocati, yn aujlnemjliztli.

Auh ynic itoca, ixcujna: qujl navinti eoah, in cioa: ynic ce ytoca tiacapan, ynic vme, ytoca teicu, ynic ey, itoca tlaco: ynic nauj itoca xocutzin. Jnjque hin, naujntin cioa: qujl teteu. Jnjque hin, cecniaca ytoca: tlaçulteteu.

Auh ynic motocaiotia tlahelquanj: qujl ipampa, imixpã mjtoa, imjxpan mopoa, yn ixqujch nequalli: iixpan mjtoa, momelaoa, yn ixqujch tlahellachioalli: immanel cenca temamauhti, immanel cenca oujh: atle mopinaviztlaça, vel muchi, iixpan neci, ixpan mjtoa. Neiolmelaoaliztli.

Qujlmach in tlaçulli, in teuhtli, in aujlnemjliztli: ichoatl qujtemaca, ic temotla, ic tehipitza in tlaçulteutl. Auh çan no ichoatl, qujtepolhuja: ichoatl chico, tlaoac qujujca, qujtoca: ichoatl, tepapaca, tehaltia: ichoatl imac manj yn matlalatl, in tozpalatl.

Auh injc qujtepopolhuja ynjc chico, tlanaoac, qujujca, qujtoca: iixpan neiolcujtilo, iixpan neiolmelaoalo, yn tlaçulteutl, iixpã mopoa, mjtoa, in tetlachioal.

Auh iix, ynacaz, ytlacaccauh muchiua, in tlapouhquj, in

776 783

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[53] The chapter on Tlaçolteutl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Einige Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

[54] *Cf.* Eduard Seler, *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called *Ixcuinan*, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as stated by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different ages—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the shooting to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

[55] Eater of filth or of ordure (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*comedora de cosas sucias.*"

[846] [56] *Cf.* Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the mutability and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchiuhtlicue*. May she cleanse of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady *Chalchiuhtlicue*, the Lord *Chalchiuhtlatonac* . . . enter the water, the blue (*Matlalac*), the yellow, (*Tozpalac*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), notes ". . . *oraciones con que la partera oraba a la diosa del agua llamada* Chalchiuhtlicue *y* Chalchiuhtlatonac, *y decía así: 'Señora nuestra* Chalchiuhtlicue *y* Chalchiuhtlatonac, *venido ha a vuestra presencia esta criatura: recibidla que la recibáis.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella su resuello, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y también le tocaba el pecho con ella, y el celebro de la cabeza, a manera de cuando se pone el óleo y crisma a los niños, y decíale de esta manera: 'Hijo mío muy amado,—y si era mujer decía, hija mía muy amada—, llegaos a vuestra madre y padre la señora Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatonac; tómeos ella, porque ella os ha de llevar a cuestas y en los brazos en este mundo.' Y luego metía en el agua a la criatura, y decía: 'Entra hijo mío—o hija mía—en el agua, que se llama Metlalac y Tuspalac; lávente en ellas, límpiete el que está en todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de vos todo mal que traéis con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.'*" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuhtl icue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuhtl icue, the water goddess holds the head of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the current is the headdress of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations motivated Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

[57] See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xliii ([illegible]); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

[58] See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalenderwahrsager*.

the *tlapouhqui*, wise in reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been uttered.[59]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[60] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[61] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer went there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And as, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour *forth* thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corruptness.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatinj, yn jmac manj, yn amuxtli, yn tlacujlolli: in qujpia 776
yn tlilli, yn tlapalli, yn matile, yn piale, yn nonotzale, yn 793
oqujtto 783

yn mojolmelauaz in tlapilchioale; achto qujtlacaqujtia in tlapouhquj, qujlhuja.

Ca ytechtzinco njnaxitizneguj, yn tlacatl, yn totecujo, in tloque nauaque: in totecujo, yioalli, yn ehecatl, ytoptzin, ypetlacaltzin, njcnottitilizneguj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhquj: otimotlacnelili:

qujnaoatia, yn iquja oallaz: qujpepena in tonalli, qujtta [787]
yn jamux, yn jtlacujlol: qujtta, yn iquja qualli tonalli, yn
iecan, in qualcan: mjtoa: qujtonalpepenja.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie ymaxatilpan, iancujc petlatl quicoa: yoan copalli, yoan quauitl: yn tlamauizti in tlamaceuhquj, çan ichan yn moiolmelaoa, ie vmpa iauh in tlapouhquj. Auh anoce teujc iauh, in tlamaceuhquj:

iancujc petlatl in moteca, vellachpano yn vncan motlalia;
yoan tletlalilo: njman copalli contema in tleco in tlapouhquj, [788]
qujnotza in tletl; qujlhuja.

Teteu ynnan, teteu ynta, veue teutl, njcan oallatia, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macehualli: njcan chocatiujtz, tlaocuxtiujtz, moteupouhtiujtz, ancan omalauh, ancan omotepotlamj, ancan oqujnamjc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzaoalli, yn çacamjtl; aquj iolitlacoa, qujtequjpachoa, Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquehe nauaquehe, maço xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti, yn jnentlamachiliz yn macehualli.

Niman qujnotza, yn moiolmelauhquj, in ichoatl tlapouhquj: qujlhuja.

Ticnalmovicatia qujxtzinco, iixpantzinco, in tloque nauaque; ticmolhujlico, ticmo[illegible]qujlico, yn mjiaca, in mopalanca: ticmotlapolhujlico, in motop, immopetlacal,

a ma no oppa ieh njcan timatoiauj, timotepexiuj: ma ixpantzinco ximopepetlaua, ximomamaxauj, in tloque, nauaque, in totecujo, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

A cujx ticitlacaittaz in totecujo, a cujx mjtztlacanotzaz: ca ioalli, ca ehecatl.

Auh ynja quen tiujtz, ma xictlapo im motop, in mopetlacal: ma xicpoa in monenjliz, in motlachioal, yvin quenja ticmati, yvin quenja cah: in quenja machiuh, in quenja tax; in quenja ticchiuh, in manequal, in monequaujtec:

xicmoquj, xicpetlauj, in maiectica, in maqualtica, in mjiaca in mopalanca.

Auh xicmotlaocuilmomochili, yn totecujo, in tloque nauaque,

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[59] *Cf. Florentine Codex, loc. cit.*, and Sahagún, *Historia general, loc. cit.*

[60] *Cf.* corresponding Spanish text. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yualli, ehecatl* (1) "*espíritu, aire y tiniebla*"; and (2) "*dios invisible sin imagen . . . impalpable, y favorecedor y amparador y todopoderoso, por cuya virtud todos viven. . . .*" Angel María Garibay K., *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México n. p., 1940), p. 113, translates *tloque nauaque* as "*que está cerca y junto*" —the sun, God in general.

[61] Context suggests that pronoun refers to the penitent.

●776
783 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back.[62]

793 "Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

776 Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he
783 said unto him:

793 "Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do: When the Ciuapipilti descend, when the feast of the Ciuapipilti or the Ixcuiname is celebrated,[63] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and maguey spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or maguey spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momaçpaltitica, y macochtitica, in teputztitica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoquetz, ma titziuhcalo.

Nimã õtlalqua in tlamacevhquj, oncopaltema: njman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: qujlhuja, ĩnjc teiviujti, ynjc tepatilloti, ynjc teixiptla.

Totecujoe, tloquehe, nauaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujtia, in njiaca in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, njnopepetlaoa, njnomamaxauja: ca onax, ca onjcchiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaioaian, ca tezcac, ca tlavilpan im mjxpantzinco, yn onax.

Niman compeoaltia: in jtlapilchioaliz, vel iuhqui quenja cah, vel yuhqui quenja qujchiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cenca çan jvin conena, cencan yvin conjtoa, yn juh qujchiuh, in imaca çan vtli, cencan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan qujtocatiuh.

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, ynic muchi qujto ytlachioal:

qujnanqujlia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jtili, yn nacaztli muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: qujlhuja.

O ca ticmonenochilia, ca ticmomaqujlia, in tloque nauaque, im motlachioal, in monequavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca itca yn taiz, yn ticchioaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoçe yn jquac ymjlhujuh cioapipilti, yn ixcujname: nauhjlhujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, timotenquatzaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie oallatujh, in ioaltica ticçacatlaçaz, titlacoqujxtiz: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh ticnamjctiz y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ca y:

auh in quenja ticnequiz, iuh ticnequiz: yntla ticçacatlaçaz, ichcatl in teucalçacatl ticqujxtiz, anoço tlacotl. Auh aço monacazco in titlaqujxtiz, anoço monenepilco.

Auh ynjc ticqujxtiz: ca amo ma çan titlamacevz, ca teuhtli, tlaçulli in ticttlaça, ticttlanoçaz, ticcujtlacoponiz, ỹ monenepil, mjxpampa ticquiz,

motzintlan in ticqujxtiz, in ticttlaçaz: aço çan cecen in ticqujxtiz, anoço çan ticcenqujxtiz, ticttlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço vntzontli, in ticqujxtiz tlacotl:

ic polliuiz, in motlatlacul, in motlapilchioal, im monequal.

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62. Cf. Note 56.

63. See Cap. X. The Ciuateteo or Ciuapipiltin were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crimes.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Totochtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with painted figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in this way he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan tzicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamaceuhquj: quijlhuja, 785

timotençoatzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, nauhjlhujtl: 776 783

anoço quijlhuja 793

titlatotiaz, timotetzauhcaoaz, titepiquiz:

anoço quijlhuja.

ca nel vctli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiquijnquijxtiz in totochtin.

Auh quijlhuja, ynjc quijnnaoatia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamaceoaz ioaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlauhtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcopeoalli in mantiaz: centetl mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujooan, yn teteu, ym mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamaceuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjliscuepa: quijlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoz, quijl ça aocmo tlaoculilonj.

Quijlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequauhtectli, in tetlaximaliztli: in quijtoaia veuetque.

Jnjc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: quijlmach, iehoatl, ynjc amo tzacujltilozque, njcan tlalticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxinj ynjc amo quatetlaxililoz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjloz, ynjc amo quatetzotzonaloz, moiolmelaoa. [684]

Jn tlapouhquj, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman acan quijtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujlo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoaque, in macu, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, im macevalli.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn tepitoton teteuh: yn quijntoquijlia, yn omoteneuhque, yn veueintin teteuh. 776

Xiuhtecutli, ixcoçauhquj, yoan cueçaltzin. Jehoatl motocaiotia in tletl, anoço veue teutl yoan tota:

teutl ipan machoia: iehica, ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacnelia: ca ic necolo, ic tlapaoazo, ic tlacuxitilo, ic tlaxco, ic ixtatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tenextlatijlo, ic tlaetzotzonjlo, yc tlatzoionjlo, ic tlatleoatzalo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temazcallatilo, ic oxitlatilo, ic tlanextlatilo.

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[64] The most characteristic emblem of Tlaçolteotl is a broom wrapped with a tlaltecopinalli—paper impressed with painted figures (see Codex Borbonicus, month of Ochpaniztli). The paper loin cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the huipil worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

[65] Corresponding Spanish text has *"que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos."*

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleaned.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all (four) directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man
431] [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Ixcoçauhqui. There [the
[304 parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
852] them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Ixcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujquixtililoia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan yzcalli: qujxiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpán tlacotonaloia, copaltemjlilo,

oauhqujltamalli nechivililoia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan qujmanjliaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

Auh yn jveveiooan, iuh cemjlhujtl, in qujcujcatia, qujteccizpichilia, qujteponacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacaoaltiloia, ynjc amo aca motlatiz, mochichinoz: ipampa in iancujcan oqualoc oauhqujltamalli, ynjc otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin qujntlaxqujaia: yn aca coatl: cujiatl, xoujli, axolotl, tototl: in çaço tlein ocacic ioioli, ycamac contlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquja yn tota.

Auh yn oiooac, noujan tlatlaoanaia in vevetque, ylamatque: iuh qujtoaia, qujtlatoiaujliaia yn tletl, texcalceuja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztililoia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jteucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no ixqujch tlacatl, qujpaloaia, qujltequja, in vctli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillaoano:

yoan vncã qujntlatiaia, qujnmahujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli, in qujntemoaia pilhoaque, qujntlauhtiaia; iehoantin qujnmamatihuja, vmpa qujmoncaoaia, yn iteupan ixcoçauhquj: vmpa qujnnacazxapotlaia, qujnnacazcoionjaia: iuhqujn ic qujnmachiotiaia, ynjc qujmjtta, yntlaoan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jnechichioal catca: tliltica motenujltec, chalchiuhtetele, xiuhtotoamacale, quetzalmjiacaio, mjtzone, tlacotzone, xiuhcooanacoche, amacozneapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, xiuhtexcatlatlapanquj yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

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[66] "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son bledos, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y altillas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Los tallos de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cenizas, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hácense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quiltan." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amarantáceas.*

[67] In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

[68] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209; see [illegible] in Siméon: *op. cit.*

[69] Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

[70] Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *auitl* as uncle and aunt.

[71] *Chalchiuhtetelli*—a strap for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*xiuhtototl*); *quetzalpanitl* or *xiuhtotomacalli quetzalmiiacaio*—a tiara of feather mosaic work in the form of a reversed cone, broadening upwards; *mitzontli tlacochtzontli* or

fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing. 776

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan neneuhque, ynjc neteutiloia tecpantzinca inteuh: 776
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca toqujchti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, qujntlaçulmjctia
yn jneçaoaliz, 753
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujltiaia, qujtema- [785
croaltiaia, in xochiciuiztli, yn menexoaliztli, tlapalanaltiliztli, 834]
quexiliuiliztli,

yuicpa netoloa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc qujceuiz, ynjc
qujquaniz ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculiztli. 776
Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa
navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
caoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia,
ioalnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli [264]
yn ipan ca, moxochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujxcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl qujmixiptlatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia,
tlacoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in [785]
qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey
ipan ycatiuh xuchmjtl:

776
yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc commanjliaia, yoan contoqujliaia [415]
oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoton, mollotiuja: yoan vntetl
tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl 262
tliltic, centetl tlatlauhquj. 796

Auh yn aca izqujtl, anoço necuizqujtl, anoço xonecujlli, papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzoaltlaxcalli, tzoalchimalli, tzoalmjtl, tzoalmaquaujtl, tzoalnenetl:

yoan noujian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico, 776
moteneoa maltequjme, yn jxqujch techiaoalotoc, yn 796

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ome quamamalhuaztli—two arrow shafts or wooden drills, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the ome acatl ("2 reed") or the mamalhuaztli (fire-drill) (see illus.). Seler: *The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 75. *Tlaotzitzone*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlaotzitzona*. 727

[72] Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*bvbas, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, diviesos, incordios, etc.*"

[73] In corresponding Spanish text: "*panes azimos.*"

776

796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pris-
727 oners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him, they bought a man to take the place of him [who had fled]. Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.

776 And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges. He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whoso ate the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

iautenoaque, yn iaoteneo onoque, qujnoalcaoaia yn jmalhoan, yn jntlaaxitiloan, in malequjhoan, muchioaia: njcan qujnpiaia, yn calpixque, in cacalpixque.

Auh intla aca tlaichti, intla tlacholoti, ypan tlacaquetzaia, motlacacoujaia, qujxiptlaiotiaia, qujxiptlatiaia:

in tlatlacoti, vncan miqujia, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia.

Auh yn jnechichioal: tenmacpale ixtlapaloatzale, tlaixtlapaloatzalujlli, tlaixtlapalvilli, yhujtzoncale, quachichiqujle, vitonqui yn jtlamamal, vitoncatlamamale, ypan icac, tonalopanjtl, quetzaltzonio, quetzaltzontecomaio, quetzaltzontecome, quetzaltzontecomjo, tentlapaltica motzinjlpi, motzinapa, ytonalocac, tonalocaque.

Jnic caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznaoac, teutl catca, yn jtech tlamjloia, in piqujliloia, qujtoaia ca ichoatl imactia, in coaiutl, in tecoanotzaliztli, in tetlacamatiliztli, in tetlatlaqualtiliztli: ynetijan muchioaia yn jnnecentlaliliz, yn jnnecenqujxtiliz teoaiolque, techã vicoia, vncan mocimmachoia, necujtlaujloia yn jxiptla.

Auh no qujtoaia, yntlacamo mavizcujlo, yn iuhqujma coanotzalo, tlavelcuja: tecochpa, anoço tecochitlpan teaoaia, qujlhujaia, yn aqujn qujtemjquj. Ja tehoatl tleyca yn amo tinechmavizmati; njmitztlalcahuiz: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njchioaz.

Auh intla cenca moçoma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa tzontli qujtetololtia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aqujn yn mjtoa teuqua, miecpa mococoa: ynjc qujtolinja, melcima, ycopac mjlacatzoa in atl: meltepotlamja in jquac tlaqua: auh yntla nenemj motepotlamja, motecujnja, motlaviteguj.

Auh ynjc ilhujqujxtililoia: yn aqujn teuqua, achtopa qujchioaia, teumjmilli, yiomjio in teutl catca: çan tlacatl, teupixqui calpole, cen molicpitl ynjc hujviiac, vel tomaoac, mjmjltic.

Auh yn aiamo nemamaca, oc achtopa tlatlaqualo, atlioa, tlaoana: auh yn otlathujc conjtitzopinja, yn omacatl connjctia: njman ic nemamaca, netlatlapanjlo, netzatzalhujlo, in teumjmjlli:

iquac qujqualo, iuhqujn ic tetozoiotiloia, tetlacaqujtilo, tetlalhujlo, temolcanaltilo: ca yn aqujque macoia, yn iquac ie ilhujuhqujxqui, mocujtlaxcolixtlaoaia, mopopoaia, ypampa ca ontlaxtlaoaia.

Jn inechichioal catca: ilvitzoncale, quaxtzoncale, yeñ the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

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[74] Probably the temple of Uitznauac (Uitznauac calmecac) is meant. *Cf. Seler: Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 222). The same source suggests various other meanings—the south, the *barrio* or part of the city named Uitznauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 229, and also Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

yquauhquentenchil, naoaio, ycuechin, ielpancozqui cyli tecacatlatlapanquj yn jnaiac: yn jnechichioal, ytiçanacoch, ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiiaia ymac catca, ytolicpal, acaçpalli. 776

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlaltetecuini).[76]

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlaculocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called ixquen (face-covering).[78]

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic castolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, ixtlilton, tlaltetecujn.

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jteupan catca, ytocaiocan tlacujlocan: in vncan yteupan, mjec yn apaztli, tzatzacutimanca, motocaiotia itlilauh. [346]

Auh yn aqujn mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn jteupan ixtlilton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apaztli, conjtiaia yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli. 776 757

Auh yn aquin qujtotiz, copaltica in conanaia, ynic qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 776 535

Jn oacic ychan, tlatotiz, teytotiz: njman tlatlaqualo, atlioa: yn otlaqualoc, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn omjtoti, yn oncalaquj: ichoatl qujtlapoa in vctli, navilhujtica tzacutimāca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacaxapotla, vicmana. 796 [273]

Niman yc vmpeoa, yn ic tlaoano: oc ceppa oalquijça itoalco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

ic mjtoaia, ic motenecoaia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzaoalli, yntla tecontli, intla tecolli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, aço tetlaxima, aço ichtec, anoço ahavilnemj, mahaviltia: ac aço tlacacemelle, in tlatoria, ic qujmotlaia, qujxcomacaia, qujxpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla moteca: ichica, ca qujteixcomaca, qujteixpantia, ic teiximotla, yn tetlatlacul. [787]

Auh ynjc oalquiça techā, quachtli yn qujmacaia motocaiotia, ixquen. [292]

Jnic muchichioaia, moçac, mocemjxtlilpopotz, mjxiçatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tecpaquachichiquile, quetzalle, 776

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[75] For description, see illustration and text in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Onorad) —Plate 15.

The term *cuechintli* means the netted cape or mantle, with sea-snail shells knotted where the cords crossed. The *chalcayotl* and the *mecaxpetl* were presumably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Apendix, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37r), Sahagún refers to "*vn ornamento de vn palmo en quadro, hecho en tela rala, el qual llamauan yeuechin, atado con unas cuerdas de algodon a los pechos. . . .*"

[76] God of medicine. *Tlaltetecuin* (or *tlaltetecuini*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tetecuinia*. *Cf.* Seler: *Einige Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 18.

[77] Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . *los que nueuamente horadaban los magueyes y hacían vino nuevo, que se llamaba uitztli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamavan tlaiacaxapotla, quiere dezir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of [illegible], see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of [illegible].

[78] ". . . *dauanle mātas las quales llaman ixquen: que quiere dezir, cubiertas de la cara: porque* [illegible], *aquel que esto hacia, lo fuese. . . .*" *Loc. cit.*

776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlalocs. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 796 [273] And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water, food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants, scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 753 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 796 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

cueçalvitonquj yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonaloio yn jmaneapan, totonaloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiollotopil, xopilcuzque, yamamaztli, tzitzile, coiole, itonalocac.

Jnic caxtolli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: yn qujmoteutiaia ie uecauh, nican tlaca.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mixcoaia, tlaloc: atlaca intevh catca, qujmoteutiaia.

Juh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl itlatzintil, ytlanextil, qujnexti, qujteittiti in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnacachalli, yn avictli, tzonoaztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililoia, atl, tlaqualli, vctli, in ventli muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xochitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, qujtepeviliaia, ic qujnanamiqujia: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl qujchaiaviliaia: iuhqujn tecivitl povia: no yoā qujcujcatiaia, yn ivevEioan, yn jlamaioan, calpoleque.

Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaôçalli, tlaolaltilli, aztatzone, quetzalmjiaoaio, amamaztle, amaneapanale, tonaloio.

Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Anaoatl itEouh: tzapoteca in vel intEouh catca,

yn itequiuh pouja, yn itlatzintil, ytlachioal, yn ineixcavil: ic temotlaia, ic tetoctaia, iehoatl qujtemacaia, in totomoniliztli, papalaniliztli, çaçaoatiliztli, ixcoculiztli, ixchichitinaliztli, ixtenpipixqujliztli, ixtamaçolicivitzli, ixxaiauhpachiuiliztli, ixnacapachiuiliztli, ixtotoliciuiztli, ixtezcayciuiztli.

Jn aqujn ipan muchioaia, yn cuculiztli toqujchti, yuicpa monetoltiaia, yujcpa mjtoaia: ynjc onmaqujz yn jieoaio, ynje itlan aquis, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililo: motocaiotia, tlacaxipeoaliztli:

tlapainaltiaia, tetocaia, mjequjntin memanaia, muchintin eoaiotiuj, chichiiaoatiuj, chichipicatiuj, tzotzotlantiuj in blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[85] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

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[79] *Cf.* Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 388 (*tecpapanchichiquilli*).

[80] *Cf.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 511) for explanation of *manta del sol*.

[81] ". . . *un dardo de tres puntas que se llama minacachalli*."—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *es como fisga, aunque no tiene, sino tres puntas*, [marginal insertion, partly missing: *(o?) triangulo (co?)mo tridente*] *con que hiere, a los peces; y tambien cō el matan aves*."

[501] [82] Standing in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the term *remo*, oar, which is technically inaccurate.

[83] Seler (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 15) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Teotitlan district. A clear discussion of the "*yopimes y tlapanecas*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 89.

[84] Meaning problematical.

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[86] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Totecco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[89] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[91]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[92] the stout traveling staves[93] with

776
tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecaliltiaia, qujnnamjquj 796
in tiiacaoan, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti:

yoan in iaqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, [524] teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalizque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia [346] yn aiac, mjtoaia totecco.

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic neujan, tepan cacalaquj, no [292 tlatlaeua: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuzcatia, qujn- 352] xochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujntlaoantia. 302]

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixcocoiia: qujtoa, ma njctlamanili, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Jn inechichioal, mizcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, 776 yiopitzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaçujticac tlacaieoatl, yiaoaio malli, tzonchaiaoale, teucujtlanacoche, tzapocueie, tzitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca inteuh catca: cenca qujmaviztiliaia, qujtlaquen- 716 tiaia amatica: yn jotopil, ymotlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj 463
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[85] The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En esta fiesta, hazian como vn juego de cañas: de manera que el vn vando, era de la parte deste dios, o ymagen del dios totec: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que auian muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas valerosas, y esforçadas: que no tenian en nada la muerte: osados, atreuidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se exercitauã, en el exercicio de la guerra: perseguian los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, boluian huyendo, hasta su propio puesto.*" *Cf.* also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, escaramuzando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was restricted to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

[86] *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has tocan in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Totecco."

[87] *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tototecti.*" *Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tototecti as "*los muertos a honra del dios Totec.*"

[88] In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is mixçolchiuhticac, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mixçolchiuhticac* (quail face painting).

[89] Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates yopi as "the red people" (Tlapaneca), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were pointed caps.

[90] "The word chicauaztli means 'wherewith anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chicauaztli with the first sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 100.

[91] Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *iyacac-tecuhtli* or *yacatecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacacoliuhqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz aguileña*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiacateuctli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Itzpapalotl. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

[92] Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

[93] The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era vna caña, maciça, que ellos llaman otlatl. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de baculo,*

776 463 484 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penances, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

. All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [625] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, incĩpa cochiuque, vncan qujtilquetza, ixpan tlamaceoa, mjço, qujcopaltemjlia, ynjc qujtlauhtia yn jnteouh yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatataqujlia, yteicnelilitz:

noujan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic moteneoa, puchteca yiaque: itech canque, yn itoca inteuh, yiacatecutli:

Oztomeca, anaoac calaqujnj, vel qujtemotinemj, in tlein qujmonanauhtiaque, anaoatl qujzaqualotinemj, anaoatl qujlacatzotinemj,

tonalciiauhtinemj, heecaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtiuj, elciciuhtiuj, mociauhquetztiuj, ymellelacitiuh, ymjaqua tlatlatiuh, intonal qujmacujtiuj, intonalonjuh ietiuh:

ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemouja, qujtlecauja, ixqujchca ana: inmolicpi, intetepon ic tlatlacça, ic moquequetza:

vel qujciiavj vel qujhiiouja, ynic qujtemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitztli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in teucujtlatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtototl, in toztli, çaqua: quauhtli, in tequaneoatl, yn ocelupetlatl.

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que es vna caña negra liujana, maciça: sin ñudo ninguno: que es como junco, de las que se vsan en españa." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa spp.*).

[94] Torquemada (op. cit., 57-8) says they gathered the staves all together, girt with a ribbon, worshipping the staves as well as the god.

[95] Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (*oztomeca anauaca calaquini*) (Seler: op. cit., p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "*Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Weggegangenen') war der Gott der Karawanenführer der oztomec anauac calaquini der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Oztotlan in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtototl*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 350, to the *Nauoloztomeca*, appears to refer to a grade or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca tlatoque*.

[103] [96] Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan ribera de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Fueronse hasta Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Entraban en la provincia de Anáhuac, no todos, sino aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En ese pueblo se dividían, unos iban a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anauac Xicalanco as the state of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

[97] "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitztli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir pluma muy verde, y itztli piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene mancha, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 279.)

[98] "*Teoxihuitl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses . . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

[99] "*Las plumas que cría en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobléganse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

[100] "*El tocado que tiene en la cabeza este ave (quetzaltototl) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llaman a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene este ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; es preciosa esta pluma y llámanla tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene críalas en el pecho y en los sobacos y debajo de las alas; son la mitad prietas y la mitad verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

[101] *Tlauhquechol* or *teoquechol* means red quechol or precious quechol. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 653). Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57n., gives *Platalea Ajaia rosea* L. (roseate spoonbill).

[102] Sahagún defines *xiuhtototl* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*graja*) (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta S. Coerulea* (*ibid.*, p. 654). Clark (loc. cit.) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould.*

[103] See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) reverbera el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llama de fuego y como oro, críanse en Anáhuac.*"

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And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicunquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquaujtl, yn atzaccaiutl: 484 [415] [439]

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioaliztica, in neixintica, in tlatoltica qujntlachecalhuja in chaneque. [292]

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujnpeioamjctia, qujnchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nẽ tematitlanpa quijça, iehoatl qujoalnonotzaia in motecuçuma: [263 265]

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yepoçonaltenteuh; yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tiiacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia. [431] [301] [301]

Auh yn jquac oalacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oqujchiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: ixqujch tlacatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic moteittitiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca qujmaviztiliaia yn itopil, yn jtlacçaia yiacatecutli: 776

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia. 796 [778]

Auh intla aca tealtia, iehoatl caltiaia, qujxeoaia in jxeeuh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme iehoantin yn mocheoaia, in qujnmoteutiaia in chicunqujauitl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomucujl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, aiac qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloia azcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecuepa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncoaque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca: 776 796 567

ynic iehoan qujnmictiaque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn aiamo qujnmjctia, achtopa qujnteittitiaia: mjtoa qujmjmextia, ic qujnmachitia in tealtique:

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[104] *Cf.* Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yacanilichqui "*propiamente representa persona, que tiene viveza, ó habilidad, para mofar graciosamente, ó engañar, y es sabio, y sagaz (que es propia condicion de Mercaderes) . . . .*"

[105] *Cf.* Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.* B. II §83.

[106] Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies,* mentions washing mouth and hands.

[107] Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*yglesia del barrio, ó perrocha*" (Spanish version).

[108] Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: "*Estos dueños que mataban a estos esclavos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

[109] According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicunquiauitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

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796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

[565] And if any were noted who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

[595] Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iecćan, qujnquetza: much tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipã mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahtlamj yn jncuje, ynjc momiquitzquequeloa.

Auh intla aca oittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolizmatquj, yn jxe, yn iollo: qujqujxtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no qujxtiloia, qujnmotlacacioaoatiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, ixquatzo, ixquatzone, quetzallalpile, teucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, oiooale, teccacque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimal, ytlacçaia ymac onoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlalocs. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[123] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and batheth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.
[567] And also each year they slew a man who represented him, a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjxcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, qujmoteutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopoaia:

iuh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl achto qujnmachti, qujmittiti, in petlachioaliztli, yn icpalchioaliztli:

iehoatl axcaoa cococaoaia, tlatquijoa, tlaneltile, tlatzintile, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh qujtoaia ca iehoatl qujxoahia, qujqujxtia, in toli in tolpitzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, axtapili, in tolqujiutl, in tolcaputl, yn jtzoli, xomali:

yoan yn jquac ilhujuhqujçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujtzetzeloa, tepan qujpixoa, yn aoachtli, cenca tlaihtlanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan qujxiptlaia, tlacotli, in qujmictiaia cecexiuhtica:

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[110] Corresponding Spanish version states that "esta cubierto con una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red negra: de manera que el azul, se parece, por las mallas de la red."

[111] The xicalcoliuhqui also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] [112] Calpulli—clan or gens, which consisted, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Seler: op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

[113] Corresponding Spanish text says, "*hazen cañizos de juncias: que llaman tolcuextli.*"

[114] *Cf.* Sahagún: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] bedight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlalocs.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlalocs.

Those thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would mold representations of

qujchichioaia, ymac mantinenca, xoxouic, xoxouhquj 776
xicalli: vncan ietinemj atl, vexotica ic teatzelhvia. 796

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn çan nenmajan: oc no ce 567
qujxiptlaiotiaia, qujchichioaia: 467

yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtotiz, qujnepieltiz: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzelhujtiuh, teaoachvitiuh, iuhqujn ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicneliz.

Yoan iuhqujn yvic mocujtlaxculixtlaoaia: yn açaca ie vnca itlaquj, yaxca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnixcauj, yn nocneliloca: ma onqualo, ma onjoa, ma onpopoliuj, ma ic onmjtoti in toteouh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njnonemjtiz, yn ac iuhquj njcochiz, ac iuhquj njneoaz, iehe qujmati, yn açoc itla, nechmomaqujliz, qujmomacaviliz:

ic quiquentiaia ce quachtli, yn ixiptla muchioaia. ic oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchitlacatl, tlatlaquaia yn joanjolque. 776

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxiptla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlaceliaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlatzetzeca, 467
icpaltetzca, tlatzetzeloa, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tletlalia,
muchipa copaltema, tlatetzcaliuhtoc tlatetzcaliuhtimanj, [356]
atle vetztoc, çe tlaçolli.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia, motliloçac, mjxtlilpepoca, 776
mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujticac, amacale, yiamacuexpal, amamaxtle, tzitzile, iztaccaque, atlacueçonanchimale, axtapiltopile.

Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo, vncan tlatoa yn inoca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No ynoan pouj, intech tlamjlaia yn tlaloque:

yn je mjtoaia tepicto, çan qujmonpiqujia. qujmixiptlaiotiaia, in tetepe, in çaço catle tepetl.

Auh yn aqujn coaciujia, ocxpanaia, quaquauhtia, 776
cocototzauja: anoço yn aqujn atlan mjquizneqij, ehecatl ipan 782
moquetza atla: vncan monetoltiaia ynjc tepiquiz, in qujnpiqujz: quetzalcoatl, in chalchivitl ycue, in tlaloc:

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[115] The corresponding Spanish text specifies "vn ramo de salce" (sauce).

[116] According to Durán, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 223), the calpuleque were "señores ó guardas de barrios."

776 782 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

532 782 And they represented the mountains, they made their images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118] made in human form, made to look like men.

755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 289] And they made papers, and they spattered them with liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 532 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experienced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held a vigil and made music for them.

755 During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

[198 533] They whistled with their fingers, they made music for them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

[273 465] Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 782 755 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

popocatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quenamjtl tepetl in qujtenehuaz in qujpiquiz.

Auh in qujnpiquja, in qujmixiptlatiaia in tetepe, çan tzoalli, qujntlacatlaliaia, qujntlacatlachieltiaia, tlacatlachieltica:

qujntlantiaia aiooachtli, auh in qujmjxtelolotiaia aiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in qujmixiptlatiaia, in qujnpiquja çan no iuhquj ynic qujnchichioaia.

Auh yoan qujchioaia, amatetehujtl, olchachapatztia, olchipiniaia, qujnquequentiaia:

auh in cequj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech qujpipiloaia, mecatitech qujnmemecachilpiaia, qujnmetechçaloaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

hiçanacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, ontopilquauhtl, necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tetzotzonticac, yn itech antoc tetehujtl.

Auh tzilacaiotli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaixtitzactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipan ponjia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

Auh çan ichoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequjuh, in machiztoque catca, yn qujnchichioaia, in qujntlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in qujnchichioaia.

Auh macujltica in qujntlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujnmolcaualtiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie conchiuque tepicme, njman ie ic qujntoçaujja, qujncujcoaia:

in ceiooal nappa in qujntlamanjlia, tamalololli in qujnmacaia, qujnmanaia ymjxpã, in tlamacazque, in tepiccujca:

no nappa in qujntlamacaia ceiooal, yoan qujntlapichiliaia,

qujnmaquiquijxiliaia tecuciztli in qujnpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitztli, cocoujlotl,

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, çapaqujnj, haavianj, mihivintianj, tecocomoltianj, cocoloque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman qujnmictia yn tepicme, qujnquechcotõa, qujnquechcuj, qujnquechilacatzoa, çatepan qujncenololoa, concecuj, in tepictzalli, qujtquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiqujnj, njman ie yc calaquj yn icoanotzalhoan, yn jnooan, vncan mopia, mopixtoque:

auh in ie iooatiuh, in ie tevtlac njman ie ic tlaoana, mocheoancatlalia in vevetque, yn ie chicaoaque, yn oilachi

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[117] Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac cihuatl) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

[118] Made of dough (*vna masa*), in the Spanish column; Seler renders it *gequetschten Samen der Stechdistel* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

[119] ". . . *unos papeles llenos de gotas de ulli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetehuitl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 130).

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782 which [the celebrants] ate, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Pantitlan.

776 **Twenty-second Chapter**, which telleth of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochti).

He [was] the wine, in times past[129] considered full of sin. For he hurled people off crags, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an awesome being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ijauhtecatl, Acolhua, Tlilhua, Pantecatl, Izquitecatl, Toltecatl, Papaztac, Tlaltecaiooa, Ome tochtli, Tepoztecatl, Chimalpanecatl, Colhuatzincatl.[130]

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white heron feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper ear-plug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red arara feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the pulque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the flint staff. And also he had rattles.

quauhcaxtontli, çoquicomjtontli, muchi vmpa concaoaia tepetzinco: atlan contepeoaia, vmpa onepantla, ytocaiocan pantitlan.

Inic cempoalli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tezcatzoncatl, ye inuan povi centzontotochti.

Iehoatl in vctli, ieppa tlatlacolli ipan machoia: ca tepexiuja, tequechmecanja, teatlanja, temjctia;

tetzavitzonj, amo pinavilonj, amo chicotolonj.

Auh yuhqui in tezcatzoncatl, ynaun povi, ynaun eoa, in centzontotochti, in vctli imeeaio, in iJauhtecatl, Acolhoa, tlilhoa, pantecatl, Izquitecatl, Toltecatl, papaztac, Tlaltecaioa, vme tochtli, tepoztecatl, chimalpanecatl, Colhoatzincatl.

Auh yn inechichioal Tezcatzoncatl, aztatzone, iacametze, amanacuche, cuecalvitoncaio, chaiaoac cuexque, cololalpile, vmetochchimale, itztopile, tecpatopile, no aiacache.

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129. Yeppa: formerly, in times past (Molina: op. cit.). The meaning also could be "during."
130. See Sahagun: op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 314; Vol. III, p. 130; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

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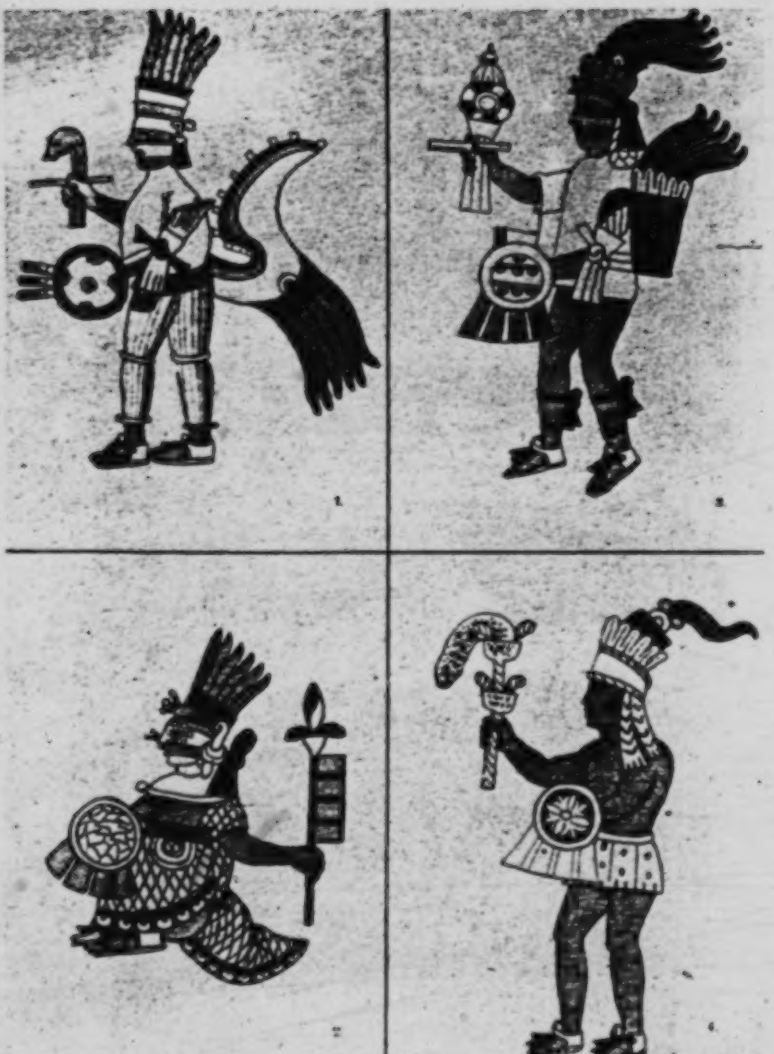

—After Paso y Troncoso

1—Uitzilopochtli. 2—Painal. 3—Tezcatlipoca. 4—Tlaloc.

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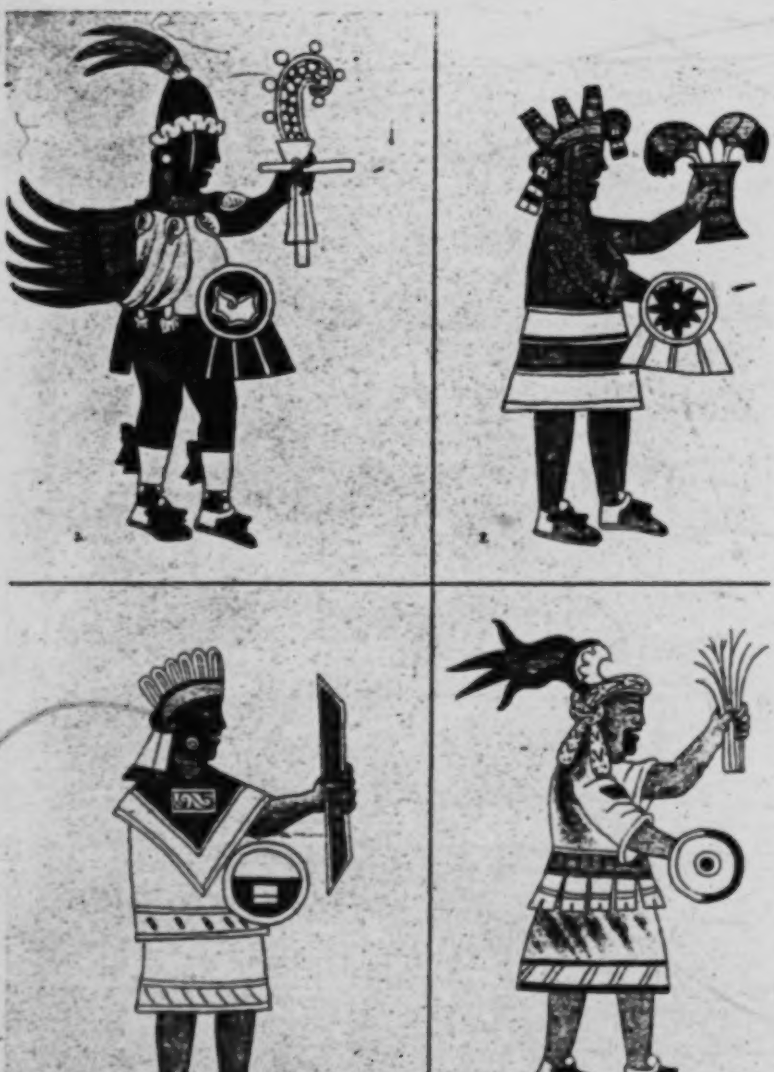

—After Paso y Troncoso

5—Quetzalcoatl. 6—Cinteotl. 7—Chicome coatl. 8—Teteo innan.

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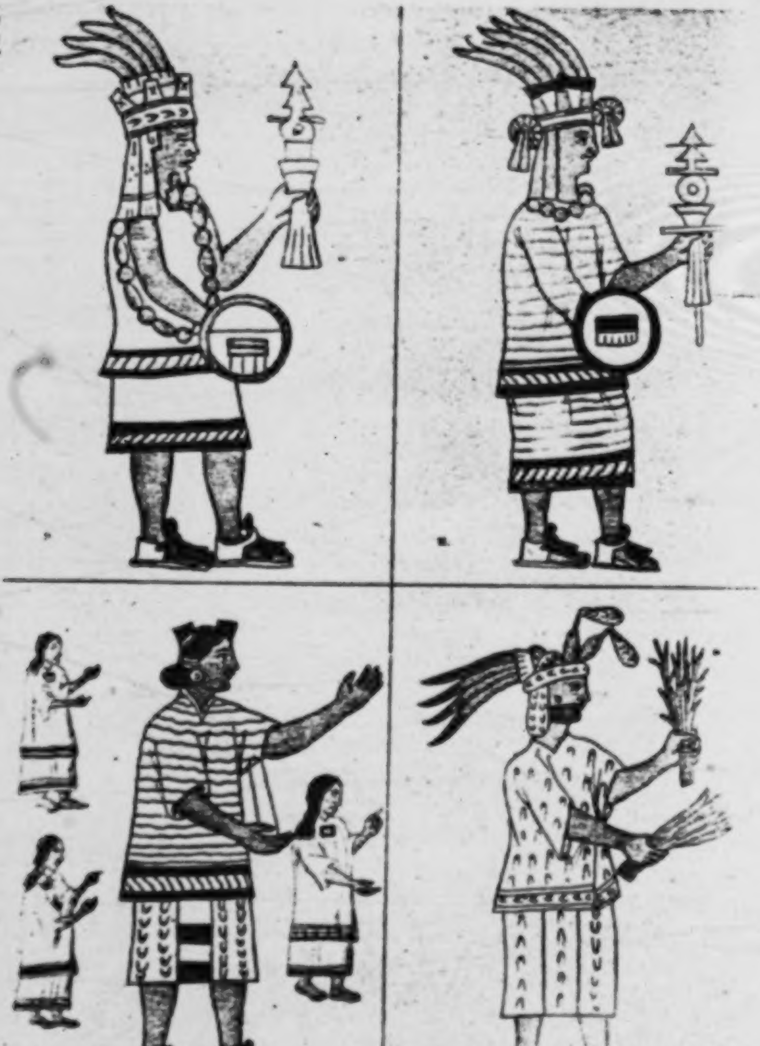

—After Paso y Troncoso

9—Tzapotlan tenan. 10—Cioapipilti. 11—Chalchiuhtli ycue. 12—Tlaçolteutl.

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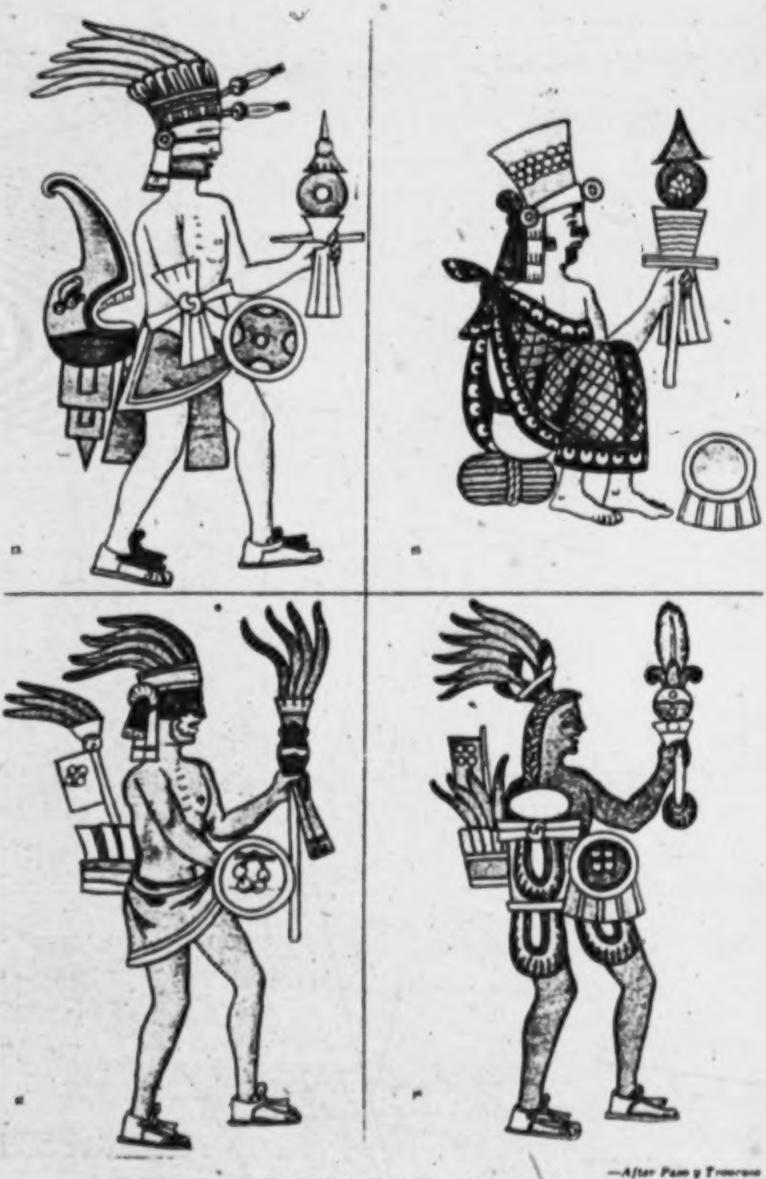

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13—Xiuhtecutli. 14—Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli. 15—Omacatl. 16—Ixtlilton.

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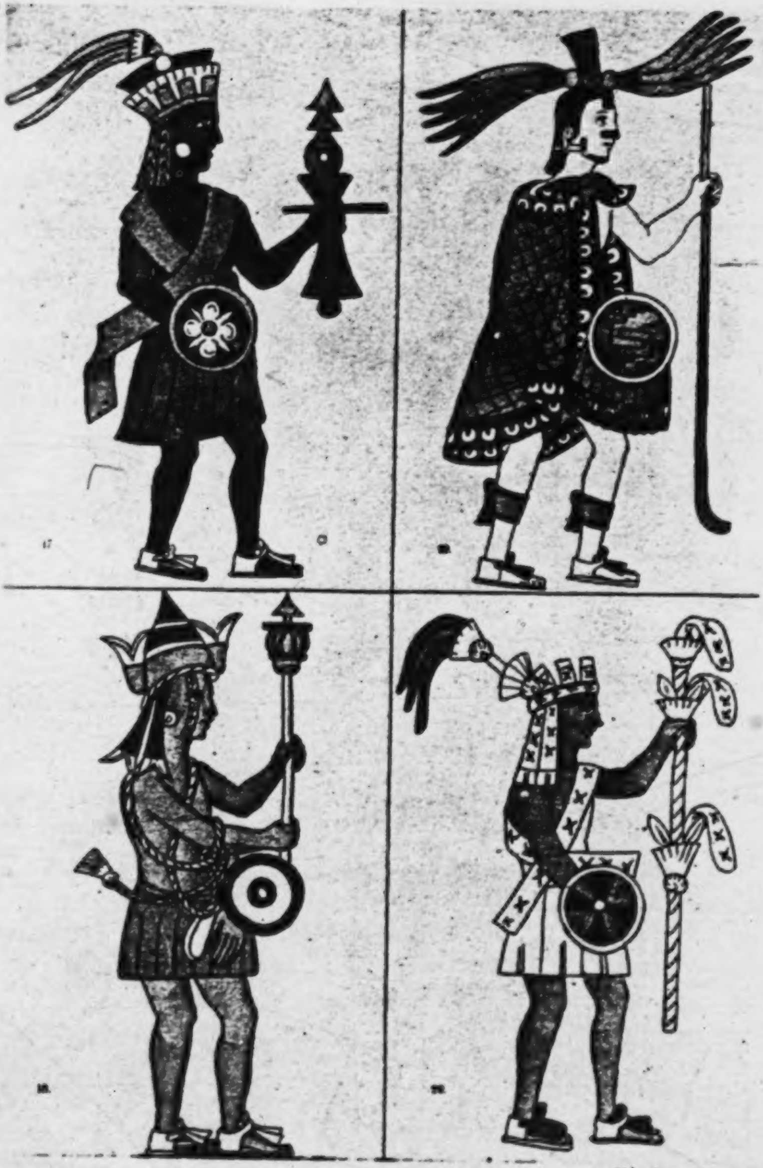

17—Opochtli. 18—Xipe totec. 19—Yiacatecutli. 20—Napa tecutli.

—After Paso y Troncoso

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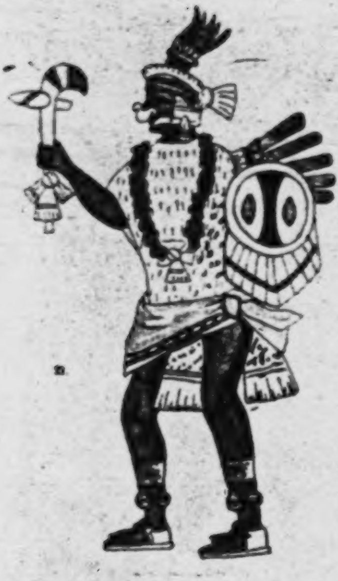

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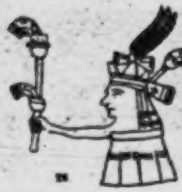

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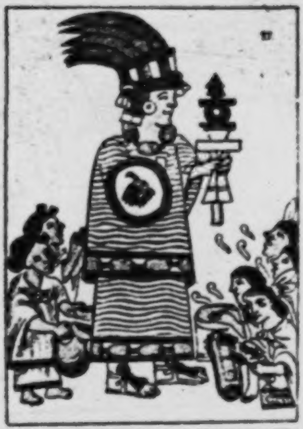

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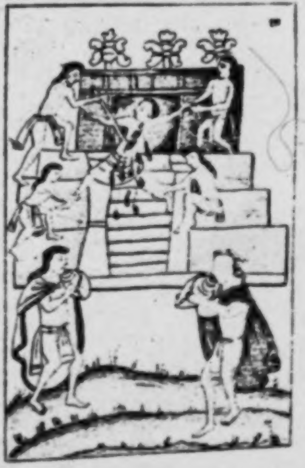

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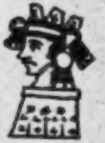

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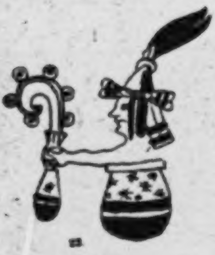

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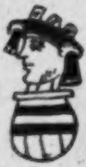

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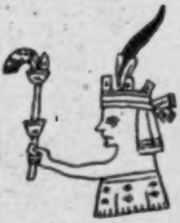

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—After Paso y Troncoso

21—Tezcatzoncatl. 22-26—Tepictoton.

27—Chalchiuhtli ycue (Chap. 11). 28—Tlalocan (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. 11).

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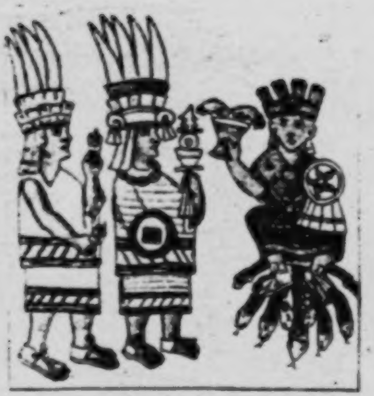

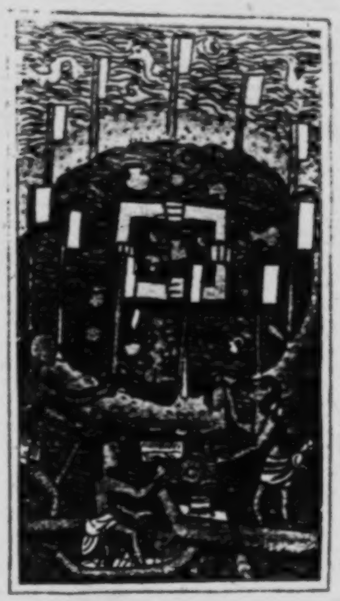

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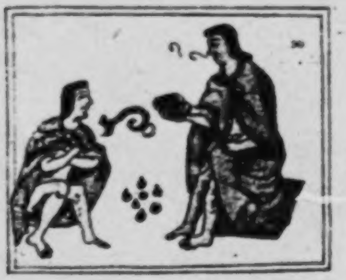

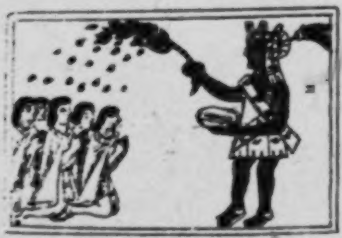

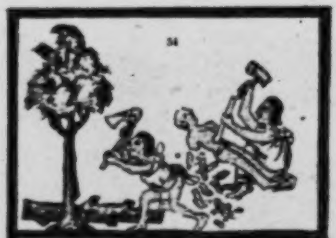

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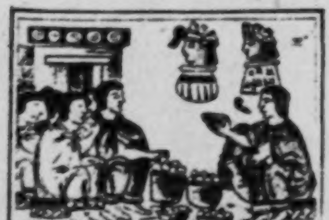

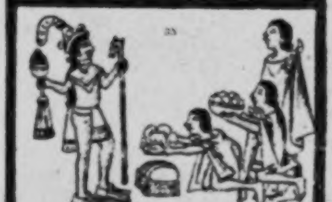

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—After Paso y Troncoso

29—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 5), Chalchiuhtli ycue (Chap. 11), Chicome coatl (Chap. 7). 30—Tlaçolteotl—Confesion (Chap. 12). 31—Napa tecutli (Chap. 19). 32—Tepictoton (Chap. 21). 33—Panitlan (Tepictoton) (Chap. 21). 34—Appendix, Chap. 13. 35—Appendix, Chap. 13.

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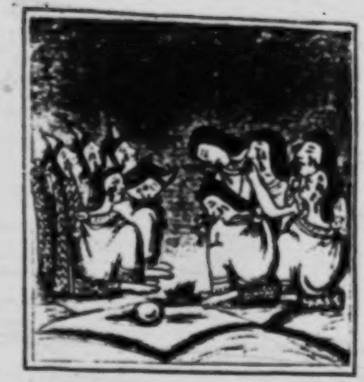

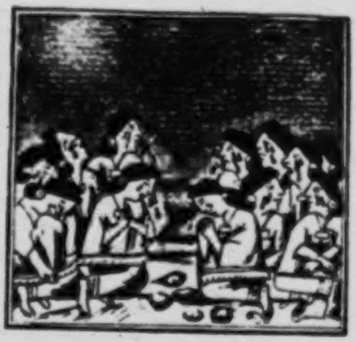

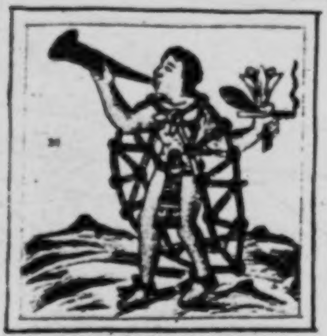

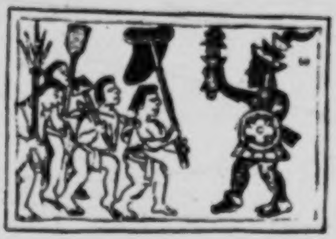

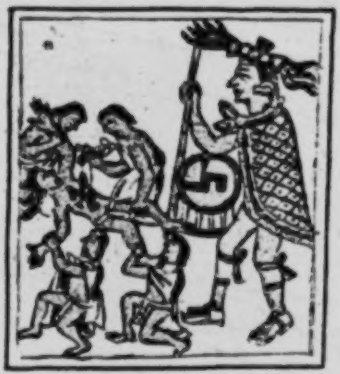

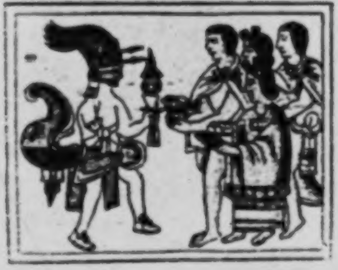

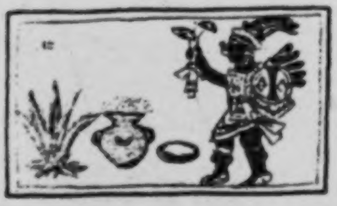

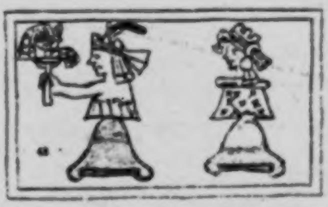

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

36—Appendix (Refutation). 37—Appendix (Refutation) 38—Titlacauan. Xiuhtecutli. 40—Opochtli. 41—Tlacatecutli. 42—Tezcatzoncatl: 43—Tepictoton.

De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

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805 **First Chapter**, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.[1] x796

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl caualo, and in other parts Quauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, [776 184] whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds, Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

Atl caualo or Quauitl eua

x796 In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops, tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.

[493] The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter went adorned with feathers and flowers. [The

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

Capitulo primero, del canlendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.

El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl caoalo: y en otras partes quavitl eoa. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la pluuja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli yeue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos dezir, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son deziocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

5[2] d KL Atl caoalo, o quavitl eoa d 1[3]

1 e En este mes matauan muchos njños e 2
2 f sacrificavanlos, en muchos lugares en f 3
3 g las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles g 4
4 A los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del A 5
5 b agua, para que les diessẽ agua o llujia. b 6
6 c A los njños, que matauan: com- c 7
7 d ponjanlos con ricos atauios para lleuar- d 8
8 e los a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas e 9
9 f literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas, f 10

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[1] The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20-38, are presented unannotated; most of the translators' notes will be found in this later section. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.

[2] Marginal notation: *Cabeça deste calendario.*

[3] Marginal notation: *Cuenta del calēdario romano.*

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltin, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos. 796 x [305 776]

Cap. 2.

1 d KL Tlacaxipeoaliztli d 22[1]
2 e A los captiuos que matauan: arran- e 23
3 f cauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y f 24
4 g guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como g 25
5 A por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul A 26
6 b delante del fuego. b 27
7 c Quando lleuauan los señores de los c 28
8 d catiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde d 1[2]
9 e los aujan de matar, lleuanuanlos por e 2
10 f los cabellos: y quando los subian, por f 3
11 g las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap- g 4
12 A tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los A 5
13 b subian arrastrando por los cabellos, b 6
14 c hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir. c 7
15 d Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna d 8
16 e piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco e 9
17 f mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos f 10
18 g sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos g 11
19 A cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por A 12
20 b los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja b 13[3]
luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara. [413]

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer. [415] [767 266]

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* Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In *Webster's Dictionary*, the Portuguese palmo is 8.64 in.; in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

[1] Marginal notation: *Cathedra sancti petri.*

[2] Marginal notation: *Martius habet dies xxxj.*

[3] Marginal notation: *leandri archiepi et conf.*

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauā muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua. 796x [805 776]

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

Cap. 3.

1 c KL **Toçoztontli.** c 14 [824 3461]
2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias d 15
3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero e 16
4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y f 17
5 g antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua g 18
6 A oler flor. A 19
7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se b 20
8 c llaman sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a c 21
9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro d 22
10 e nombre coatlā tona. e 23
11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu- f 24
12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los g 25
13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des- A 26
14 b ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar b 27
15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan c 28
16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro- d 29
17 e cesion: y cō muchas cerimonjas, yuan e 30
18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y f 31
19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se g 1[1] [755]
20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: A 2[2]
Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos. 796x 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

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[1] Marginal notation: *Aprilis habet dies xxx.*

[2] Marginal notation: *Marcus evangelista.*

The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his bonor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Chapter 4

Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all those things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: haziã fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

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Cap. 4.

1 b KL. Vey toçoztli b 3
2 c En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a c 4
3 d las puertas de las casas ensangrenta- d 5
4 e uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de e 6
5 f las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, f 7
6 g de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan g 8
7 A sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman A 9
8 b acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus b 10
9 c dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada c 11
10 d vno tenja en su casa. d 12

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11 e Despues desto, yuan por los ma- e 13
12 f hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que f 14
13 g aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas g 15
14 A con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de A 16
15 b sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan b 17
16 c calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda c 18
17 d delante dellos. d 19

18 e Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: e 20
19 f yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan f 21
20 g chicome coatl: y alli delante della g 22[1]
hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las troxes, por estar bendito.

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Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente.

[778]

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[1] Marginal notation: [illegible]

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Tezcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoe, y por otro nombre Tezcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

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Chapter 5
Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Tezcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

Cap. 5.

1 A KL. Toxcatl A 23
2 b Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas b 24
3 c las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya c 25
4 d cerca de la pascua de resurrection d 26
5 e pocos dias despues: este mancebo e 27
6 f criado, como esta dicho era muy bien f 28
7 g dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos: g 29
8 A tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta. A 30
9 b Quando en esta fiesta matauã al b 1[1]
10 c mãcebo que estaua criado para esto: c 2
11 d luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de d 3
12 e morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo e 4
13 f el pueblo muy ataujado con flores en f 5
14 g la mano, y con personas que le acõpa- g 6
15 A ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci- A 7
16 b osamẽte: todos sabian que erã aquel b 8
17 c la ymagẽ de Tezcatlipuca: y se pros- c 9
18 d trauã delante del, y le adorauan dõde d 10
19 e qujera que le topauan. e 11
20 f Viente dias antes que llegasse esta f 12[2]
fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dispuestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros ataujos mas galanes.

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[833]

[302]

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que

[346]

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[1] Marginal notation: *Maius ha dias xxxj.*

[2] Marginal notation: *Nerei, Achilei atque Pan.*

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado. 796x [805 776] 785

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

Cap. 6.

1 g KL. Etzalqualiztli. g 13
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los A 14 [137]
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, b 15
4 c yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se c 16
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en d 17 [346]
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli e 18
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los f 19
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie g 20
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- A 21
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con b 22
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto c 23 [651]
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se d 24
13 e defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera e 25 [681]
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque f 26
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se g 27
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena A 28
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de b 29
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer c 30
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- d 31
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian e 1[1]
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia. [262] [786]

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos. [688]

On this same feast they slew many captives and

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos catiuos y otros

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[1] Marginal notation: *Junio le dize xxx.*

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They went held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol. 76.*

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecujlhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtocioatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa. 796 x [805 776]

Cap. 7

1 *f* **KL.** **Tecujlhujtontli.** *f* 2[1]
2 *g* La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y *g* 3 [535]
3 *A* dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y *A* 4
4 *b* moças y muchachas yvan asidas de *b* 5
5 *c* vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las *c* 6
6 *d* manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra *d* 7 [301
7 *e* por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan *e* 8 137]
8 *f* sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas *f* 9
9 *g* de axenxos desta tierra que se llama *g* 10
10 *A* iztauhiatl: gujauanlas vnos viejos, y *A* 11
11 *b* regian al canto en medio dellas yva la *b* 12
12 *c* muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, *c* 13
13 *d* y que avia de morir adereçada con *d* 14
14 *e* ricos ornamentos. *e* 15
15 *f* La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan *f* 16 [535]
16 *g* las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de *g* 17
17 *A* morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la *A* 18
18 *b* noche: venjda la mañana: adereça- *b* 19
19 *c* uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn *c* 20 [137]
20 *d* areyto muy solemne: y todos los que *d* 21
estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalsochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos catiuos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtocioatl: alli matauan primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76. [273]

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[1] Marginal notation: [illegible]

X 796 [805 776 [735] **The eighth month** they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 735 262 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli.* Each one drank as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales.* He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 535 [302] [373] All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Cap. 8.

1 *e* KL Vei tecujlhujtl *e* 22[1]
2 *f* Dauan de comer a hombres y mu- *f* 23
3 *g* geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con- *g* 24
4 *A* tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de *A* 25
5 *b* mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera *b* 26
6 *c* de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli: *c* 27
7 *d* cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al *d* 28
8 *e* medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden *e* 29
9 *f* en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos *f* 30
10 *g* tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada *g* 1[2]
11 A vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna *A* 2
12 *b* mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a *b* 3
13 *c* tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to- *c* 4
14 *d* mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin *d* 5
15 *e* nada. Esto hazian los señores por con- *e* 6
16 *f* solar a los pobres: porque en este *f* 7
17 *g* tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de *g* 8
18 *A* mãtenjmjentos. *A* 9
19 *b* Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y *b* 10
20 *c* dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y *c* 11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseuerauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

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[1] Marginal notation: *Sancti paulinj Epi et conf.*

[2] Marginal notation: *Julius ha dies xxxj.*

[3] Marginal notation: *Pij pape et Mart.*

X 796 [805 ●776] The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[231 262] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 535 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who [534 778] beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the [273] drums] and sang with a great din until night. And the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlasochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Cap. 9

1 d KL **Tlasochimaco** *d 12*
2 e La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa- *e 13*
3 f uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros *f 14*
4 g para comer, en hazer tamales y otras *g 15*
5 A cosas concernjentes a la comjda: luego *A 16*
6 b de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los *b 17*
7 c satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ *c 18*
8 d muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des- *d 19*
9 e pues de compuesta la estatua deste *e 20*
10 f dios: componjan las estatuas de los *f 21*
11 g otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales *g 22*
12 A y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan *A 23*
13 b todas las otras estatuas de lõs calpules, *b 24*
14 c y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cai- *c 25*
15 d pisques y principales y macequales, *d 26*
16 e todos componjan las estatuas que ten- *e 27*
17 f jan en sus casas con flores. *f 28*
18 g Compuestas las estatuas todos los *g 29*
19 A dioses: luego comen çauan a comer *A 30*
20 b aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas *b 31*
de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: comen çauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Duraua este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y macequales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziā fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jxcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauā en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauā arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios. 796x [805. 776]

Cap. 10.

1 c KL. Xocotl vetzi c 1[1] 796x
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlaxochimaco: d 2[2]
3 e yvā al monte cortauan vn arbol de al- e 3 313
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle f 4
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: g 5 [483]
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan- A 6
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto b 7
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en- c 8
9 d tonce le tornauā a echar en tierra cō d 9
10 e mucho tiēto y cō muchos pertrechos e 10 [463]
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia f 11
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan g 12
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami- A 13
14 b ētas y mondauāle y hazianle muy liso. b 14
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com- c 15
16 d puesto cō muchas maneras de papeles: d 16
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan- e 17
18 f tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos f 18
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien. g 19
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuā- A 20[3] 796x
tada y adornada cō todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjā esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos adereçauāse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche. [302] [535]

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamā yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessē tanto la muerte, atauanlos [278]

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1. Marginal notation: *Augustus ha dies xxxj.*
3. Marginal notation: *Bernardi abbatis.*

2. Marginal notation: *Petri ad vincula.*

pains of] their death

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toci, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, hazia fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que qujere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa. 796ˣ [805 776] ●

Cap. 11.

1 b KL. **Ochpanjztli.** b 21
2 c Cinco dias antes que començasse este c 22 [534
3 d mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozi- d 23
4 e jos del mes pasado entrando este mes, e 24 535]
5 f baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin f 25
6 g teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la g 26
7 A muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ A 27
8 b llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los b 28
9 c ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la c 29 [754]
10 d mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de d 30
11 e mugeres con ella: especialmente las e 31
12 f medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos f 1[1]
13 g vandos y peleauan apedreandose con g 2 [524
14 A pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas A 3 137]
15 b y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa- b 4
16 c dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal- c 5
17 d xochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro d 6
18 e dias. e 7
19 f Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras f 8
20 g desta calidad: procurauan que aquella g 9 [787]
muger no entendiese que auja de morir porque no
llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal
aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, ata-
ujauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la
lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran
señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja
de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas es-
paldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la
cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto
vestiase el pelejo.

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

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[1] Marginal notation: *September ha dias xxx.*

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all[1] made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Al doseno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quiere dezir 796ˣ
la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra
de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a [805
algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste 776]
mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado.

Cap. 12

1 A KL. **Teutl eco** A 10
2 b A los quinze dias deste mes: los b 11
3 c moços y muchachos, enrramauan c 12
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los d 13
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de e 14
6 f las casas como por los caminos y en- f 15 [465]
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que g 16
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan A 17
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros b 18
10 c dos o tres maçorcas. c 19
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios d 20
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le e 21 [776]
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla- f 22
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y g 23
15 A rezio, caminaua mejor, y llegaua pri- A 24 [273]
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comida en su cu, b 25
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y c 26
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los d 27
19 e viejos, y viejas que beujan vino, por la e 28
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo f 29
lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de [252] harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada.

En viniendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, [534] y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los

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1. Marginal notation: [illegible]

which they then used.

The fourteenth month they named Qu~cholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauā a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411
796x
[805
776]

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas sienes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni viejas beujan pulcre: porqūe hazian penjtencia.

796x
[785]
[834
273]

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziā vnas saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: ponjan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defūtos en esta mesma fiesta.

765
796x

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x
[778
342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, cieruos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x
224

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1. Marginal mention: [illegible]

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc. 796ˣ [805 776 785]

Cap. 15.

1 e KL. Panquetzaliztli. e 9[1]
2 f El segundo diã deste mes començauã f 10 796ˣ
3 g todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can- g 11 535
4 A tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de A 12
5 b su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to- b 13
6 c dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares c 14
7 d a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez: d 15
8 e durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte e 16
9 f dias. f 17
10 g A los nueue dias deste mes: apare- g 18
11 A jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que A 19 [302]
12 b aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas b 20
13 c colores, componjãlos con muchos pa- c 21
14 d peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos, d 22
15 e en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom- e 23
16 f bre parcados cantando y baylãdo. f 24
17 g A los deziseys dias deste mes: co- g 25 796ˣ
18 A mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los A 26
19 b esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen- b 27
20 c çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan c 28 [535]
todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, morian algunos en la escaramuça. [346] [726]

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[1] Marginal notation: [illegible]

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *ayecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete;* and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Al mes decimo sexto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua. 796x [805 776]

Cap. 16.

1 d KL. **Atemuztli.** d 29[1]
2 e Quando començaua a tronar los e 30 [314]
3 f satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran f 1[2]
4 g diligencia offrecian copal y otros per- g 2
5 A fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas A 3
6 b dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para b 4
7 c dar agua: y los populares hazian votos c 5
8 d de hazer las ymagines de los montes d 6
9 e que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi- e 7
10 f cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los f 8
11 g deziseis dias deste mes, todos los popu- g 9 [834]
12 A lares aparejauan offrendas para offre- A 10
13 b cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian b 11
14 c penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres c 12
15 d de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los d 13
16 e hombres. e 14
17 f Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan f 15 [778]
18 g el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras g 16
19 A de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales A 17 [289]
20 b desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauan- b 18[3]
los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan. [324]

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si, [413 286]

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[1] Marginal notation: [illegible]
[3] Marginal notation: [illegible]
[2] Marginal notation: [illegible]

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cozcamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre cozcamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

796x
[805
776]
[535]

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1 c KL. c 19
2 d A esta muger que matauan en esta d 20
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los ataujos de e 21
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que f 22
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom- g 23
6 A bre Tona qujere dezir nuestra madre A 24
7 b esta muger ansi compuesta con los b 25
8 c ataujos estan puestos en la historia, c 26
9 d baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie- d 27
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua, e 28
11 f acordandose que luego auja de morir: f 29
12 g pasando el medio dia, componjanse los g 30
13 A satrapas con los ornamentos de todos A 31
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su- b 1[1]
15 c bianla al cu, donde auja de morir: c 2
16 d echada sobre el taxon de piedra, sa- d 3
17 e cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca- e 4
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos f 5[2]
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan- g 6
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca- A 7
bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella gujaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

796x
535

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

El mesmo dia que matauã esta muger los mjnjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abaxo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

796x

El dia sigujente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largas como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

796x
565
524
[415]

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[1] Marginal notation: [illegible]

[2] Marginal notation: Epiphania domini.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

796x

[805
778]

776

[852
304]
608]

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *uauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

Cap. 18.

1 b **KL.** **Izcalli** b 8
2 c A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã c 9
3 d fuego nueuo a la media noche delante d 10
4 e la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa- e 11
5 f mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos, f 12
6 g luego en amaneciendo venjan los man- g 13
7 A cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos A 14
8 b anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez b 15
9 c dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de c 16
10 d tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que d 17
11 e tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y e 18
12 f ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque- f 19
13 g llos anjmales para que se asassen: y g 20
14 A dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu- A 21
15 b chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que b 22
16 c ellos llamauã Vauhqujltamalli: los c 23
17 d quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia, d 24
18 e y todos comjan dellos por honrra de e 25
19 f la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y f 26
20 g beujan y regozijauanse. g 27

[262]

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

[535]

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro 796x
vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan
Nemontemi, que qujere dezir dias valdios: y tenjan- 777
los por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que
quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que [805]
era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de [304]
Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros
hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- d 31 [551]
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos
Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no
osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortuna-
dos: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque [578]
dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã
siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero [787]
tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro .y siempre variauan.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del 796x
sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta
casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la [776] ●
ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el me-
dio matauã capituos delante della a honrra del sol.
En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas [785]
chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella
sangre.

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta 785
todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta 796x
463

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
x796 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they
463 offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and
the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

x796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
● [776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses
who are named Ciuapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned
their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

x796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
273 great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
[776] second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all
the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they
adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played
[musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine,
[463] and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine
sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the
maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out
they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

x796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they
celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the
lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth
the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[431] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace
folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the
lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they
observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the
house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where
were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

días, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipiltí porque dezian que entonce decēdian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofreciansas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzqujtecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan cevando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

In this house[1], which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli*, or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amateteuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la aderecauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcoatl. 796A [778]

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjquiztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso. [778]

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujaujtl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quãdo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas enfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan cioateocalli, o por otro nombre cioateupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amateteujtl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles. [776] [784] [778]

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce qujaujtl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de supersticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viesen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to- [681 777] [463]

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[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

And Afterwards, at night,

X 796 they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes
of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one
[302] began to boast of what he had gained, and of the
distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled
[521] the others for their counting for little; [for] neither
did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to
distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great
mock of the others for a long space of the night.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatl-
[778] ipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of
Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

[753 In the sign named ce oçomatli they said that the
goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth
774] and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting
them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened,
they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it: that he
had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers
[784] on these days did not let their children go outside the
houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendixesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto acontecja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas cioapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia, Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que 796x
era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de
xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho [314]
copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen,
con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos orna- [288
mentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, 778]
hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas
casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del [565]
fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los [666
señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: ha- 431]
zian la solēnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y arey- [
tos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego 721]
la guerra contra sus enemigos.

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli.*

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste [776] ●
signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chal-
chiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan [
en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, 463]
como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua.
Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reueren-
ciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, *as to feasting, eating, and drinking.*

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comū.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, 777
ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran
cuēta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en 787
que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astro-
logos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena 565
o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que 852
nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era adverso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura.
Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos [759]
de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despues los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para 584

796 **Twenty-sixth Chapter** in which are related the feast and ceremonies celebrated upon the feast in the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.[1]

Tecuilhuitontli: When this feast arrived, they celebrated the minor feast of the lords for twenty days. And at this time died—[for thus] her fate then befell her—at this time died [in sacrifice], a war captive's
796 death, [she who was the likeness of] Uixtociuatl,
776 god[dess] of those who made salt, the salt-makers.

317 This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. [In] one thing she angered and offended them, that she mocked at her brothers. And then they pursued their elder sister over to the salt beds. There she discovered salt—how it existed, how it was formed, and how were made the salt jars; and also salty sand.

And, on this account, greatly did men who lived where there was salt pay honor to her.

796 And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was
[302] [thus]: Her [face] paint and ornamentation were
301 yellow. This was of yellow ochre or the [yellow] of maize blossoms.[2] And [she wore] her paper cap with quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize. It was of many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers, so that it was covered with green, streaming down, glistening like precious green feathers.

And [she had] her golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered and flashed and were very yellow, like squash blossoms. And her shirt was embroidered[3] to resemble water [waves].[4] And the border of her shirt was as if painted with green stones, designed to represent billowing clouds on the hem [of her shirt]; the edge was painted in a cloud design. And her skirt was designed in the same fashion.

And on her ankles[5] she had placed bells—golden bells—or rattles. On the calf of her leg she had bound an ocelot skin on which were the bells. And when

Jnic cēpoualli oc chiquace capitulo, vncan motenehoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in muchioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic chicome metztli, in mjtoaia: Tecujlhujtontli.

Tecujlhujtontli: yn in qujçaia in muchioaia, in tecuilhujtontli, no cempoalilhujtica: auh vncā mjquja, vncan itequjuh vetzia vncan teumjquja in vixtocioatl, yn jnteouh iztatlaca, iztachiuhque.

Jnjn vixtocioatl, iuh mjtoa qujlmach inveltiuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan qujlmach yioq'chtioan in tlaloque: centlamātli ic qujnqualanj, ic qujniollitlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joqujchtioan: auh njman ic qujtotocaque yn jnveltiuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa qujnextito yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh muchioa iztacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca qujmauiztiliaia yn iztapaneca, yn iztapātlaca.

Auh in vixtocioatl, yn jnechichioal catca, yn jxaoal, yn jnechioal cuztic: iehoatl in tecoçaujtl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjiaoaio, quequetzalo, moca quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujuj, xoxoqujuhtimanj, momoiaoa, xexeliuj, iuhqujn xoxopaleoa, xoxoxouja:

yoan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in teucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca coztic, iuhqujn aioxochqujlitl: yoan yujpil tlaicujlolli, aycujliuhquj: auh yn iten yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujlolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tēmixmolonquj, tlatenmjxicujlolli: auh yn icue çan ic no iuhquj ynic tlacujlolli,

yoan icxic [illegible]alia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlani[illegible]o in qujlpiaia, ocelueoatl yn ipan.

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[1] *"Fiestecilla de los señores,"* according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 300); *"das kleine Herrenfest,"* or *"kleines Herrenfest,"* in Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 130, 131).
Tovar describes this month and the next literally as the lords' months, in contrast to Etzalqualiztli. Cf. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[2] In *op. cit.*, p. 131 and p. 131, n. 1, Seler refers to *"gelber Pflanzenfarbe." Miaoatl*, however, is translated by Molina (*op. cit.*) as *"la espiga y la flor de la caña de mayz."*

[3] Literally, painted; Sahagún, however, writes *"labrada."*

[4] Cf. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text; also Plate 24.

[5] *"Las gargantas de los pies,"* in Sahagún's Spanish. Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 9.

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[34]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-waving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: 796x [714 411]

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca iehoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, iehoatl in qujmomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujxtimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in ocnotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. [535] Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn suchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlaçatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id est, iaoiutl, çujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, iteputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, [533] ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzõtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh.

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujniquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, [714] ca quexqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço-

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[34] See Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 130ff. Seler mentions (pp. 131, 132) a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose plate; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. [illegible] these relate to the [illegible] of *Anauacatl* among the Huaxtecs, or the "the Mexicans were [illegible] themselves to be the servants, followers, Mimixcoa, of the old mother of the gods, Teteo innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from them." [776 177]

X 796 Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. [346] Only the young men laid them down, on every small pyramid, in the temples of the Ciuateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very [252] poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

And on the third day of the spreading out of ● [776] branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, 252 ground and made into a ball of dough.

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli; in muchiuaia, in jpã vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl om ume meztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

Injc matlactetl om ume ilhujtl: ichoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

in ie iuh tlamacujlti, njmã vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatemalo: in acxoiatl, ichoatl in acatl, ẽi in qujlpiaia; çan ichoantin in telpopochtin qujtemaia, novian in momozco, in cioateucalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipielo in jmjxiptlaoan diablome:

auh in techachã novian onacxoiatemaia, qujnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana ieiolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli qujoaltemaca: motenehoa, cacalotl ca qujmocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can ichoantin injmel, in tlacelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

Auh in ie ic ieilhujtl acxoiatemalo: iquac heco in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, ichoatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlacçanj, cotze:

ipampa in achto oalaci, yoan qujtlamanjliaia: in qujmanjliaia, mjchioauhtli, in tlapololli:

achtopa qujcequj, qujtzomotza comalco, çatepan qujteci: auh in oqujtezque, çatepã qujpolonia, atica: cequj necutica, in qujpolonia: aço macujltetl, aço

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[1] *Teotl heco—Los dioses llegan*, in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 387. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 165, refers to *teotleco* as *la fiesta de la venida de los dioses.* The spelling "Tetl eco" is in the *Florentine Codex.*

[2] See note 3, p. 59. In Cap. xxxiv (Panquetzaliztli), Sahagún explains that *"por ramos llevaban cañas verdes y espinas de maguey,"* and, in Cap. xxv (Etzalqualiztli), *"donde no había estas ramas cortaban cañas verdes en lugar de acxoyatl."*

[3] Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that *"Tenían edificados oratorios a honra de estas diosas en todos los barrios donde había dos calles; los cuales llamaban ciuateocalli, o por otro nombre ciuateopan; en estos oratorios tenían las imágenes de estas diosas. . . ."* Clavigero (*loc. cit.*) says: *"enramaban los templos y los oratorios de las calles."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[4] *Olotl* is more properly corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; however, he usually renders it maize ear.

[5] *"Comes, o tenazuela . . . para comer granos de maiz tostado en el rescoldo"* (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the same equivalent.

[6] These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still.

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec qujtqujtiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia. 796x [252]

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in vevetzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh qujtoaia, qujlmach qujcxipaca. [888 273]

Auh in oacic ic navillhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoiatemaliztli: iquac qujtepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in qujchioaia, iotextli, qujtepitztlaliaia, qujpachoaia, iaoaltic injc qujtlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, qujcencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jvevio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in çonjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta iotextli, moteneoa: icxi. [743]

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza iotextli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu: [787]

njman ic qujoalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, qujtzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu. [534]

Auh in jxqujch macealli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanazque inteupã, in inteteupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in qujnmanjlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie iooa: çan iẽ no ivi in qujchioa, tlatlaoana in vevetque, in jlamatzitzin, qujlmach, qujmjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu. [888 273]

Auh in jmuztlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzaoac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca inteouh catca, yoa in Ixcoçauh- [776]

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[7] The word [illegible] is explained by [illegible] (op. cit., p. [illegible]): "[illegible]"—"[illegible]."

X 796 ● [776] Ixcoçauhqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 292 535 [198] And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

[534] And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 535 They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken, where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

[237] And next day all assembled at the same time to dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here endeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

quj, iehoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca inteouh catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoqujlitivia, ça qujoalcentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlazo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in qujntlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlazo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiqujltone, quachichiqujle, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoatzaltontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhqujn tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jaiacach, vccampa in aiacachotinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlazoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oaltemo, imaamaneapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca moteteuhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhqujn mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin motenehoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in coztic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca ixqujch tlacatl, çan iehoantin in oqujchtin:

njman ie ic peoalo in necocololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle queoa, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie iooa: auh in aca cenca compaquj, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujtti y, ie cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je ixqujch njcan tlamj, njcan tzonqujça in ilhujtl Teutl eco.

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8. ". . . en en donde cada año echában vivos en un gran montón de fuego muchos cautivos, en la fiesta que se llamaba teotleco; y hacían los clérigos aquella ceremonia que se llamaba mamatlaxitzoa, como se dijo en la misma fiesta de teotleco" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 221).

9. ". . . porque no les hiciese mal el dios Acolmiztli" (ibid., p. 236). Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., p. 168.

x 796 and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

778 And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber [314 289] upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

[766] And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. [262] They offered them fruit *tamales,* and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

[776] The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *maguey;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

[314 289] Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

[493] Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

qujntlapichălitivitze, iuhqujn tlacaoacativitz, njmā ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmixolhuja, yoan mj̃chioauhtli in quimõtlalilia incampan, qujmõquentia in tetevitl, yoan qujmõaquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in qujnchichioaia.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impā qujtlaliaia:

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan ixqujch in qujntlamanjliaia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

Injc ce itoca Tepoxoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Injc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oqujchtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, qujntlatlaiaoalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujncujcatitivi.

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[8] The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: *"La cabeça de cada vn monte traja dos caras, vna de persona, y otra de culebra. . . ."*

[9] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2, n. 15.

[10] According to Sahagún (loc. cit.), *"rodetes o roscas hechas de heno, atadas con sogas de zacate."*

[11] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 22, n. 118.

[12] In the Robredo ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 233, acatl is explained: *"Hay otra que se llama [illegible], es muy verde y tiene unos cañutos huecos como aquella hierba que se llama acatl y crece cerca del agua, y cuando se masca suena entre los dientes cuando la comen."*

X 796 [765] And when they had burned, they there buried their charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton [237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] humming-bird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places [793] the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast [776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, [342 513] nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

X 796 224 Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inexo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaomjcque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma; yoan inmaxtli, ooaquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan qujxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: iehoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, oc petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in peoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujquixtiliaia, in inteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn moteneoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxquijch haaxioa nexaxacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo tlatlioa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehaapanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniaoaloa in jxqujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo, seized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

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[3] "Se salia a la grama" (zacapan quixoa), according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeuatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, izquich in tematitlampa quiça, in aiamo imjquja. 796x

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aqujn maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, qujntlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli: 224 [292]

intla tlamanj, qujmoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujtlatiz tanaco, anoço qujmonamaquiliz: yoan in tlamanjme qujntlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atli.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon qujoalhujvica intlan qujmaana, chichipicativitz in eztli, in oacico inchachan, aco qujnpipiloa auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan qujxooaia: iquac qujnmacaia in imamatlatquj in jzqujntin mjqujzque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequjntin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome iehoatl in Izqujtecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: iehoan qujmaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique: 796x [776] [463]

injquein, mjquja iehoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeuatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in qujnnextiaia: auh no iehoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izqujtecatl: no iquac qujcuja in jmamatlatquj. [624]

Aûh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjqujzque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec qujnvica in vmpa mjqujzque: qujmõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa qujnvivica in jncacalpulco, ceioal in qujntoçavia, qujnpia, qujnpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncujva: auh in oqujmõtzoncujque, njmã ie ic motlatlatilia: in oqujchtli, qujtlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

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[4] Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that yon [illegible] might better be read for inquich. Cf. also Seler (op. cit., p. 199).

[5] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. I, n. 5.

[6] Cf. supra, p. 97, n. 7.

Temple of Uitzilopochtli
Contepetl.[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtlj was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitznauac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Iiopoch.

And in the morning Paynaltzin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Paynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its humming bird disguise, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back went hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli iteocal
contepetl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, expa in quiçaia ilhujuh, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia, yn ipan ce xivitl. 796x

Injc cepa ipan in mjtoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoqujçaia, in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli, ym omextin yn jtoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic qujtlecaujaja in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixqujch in tlamacazquj, in telpuchtli in qujnapaloaia: auh yn ixiptla catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli. [776] 776 796x

Auh ynjc vme in jtoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in jxiptla catca.

Auh in muchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in muchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznaoac calpulco: auh ceniooal in qujmicuxitiaia, in qujntlacatiliaia.

Auh in otlatujc, ie otlacatque: njman ie ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ie teutlac, njman ie ic netotilo, neocololo: auh çan ic oncalaquj, in tonatiuh, in qujntlecaujaia: auh yn oqujmontlalito, njman ie ic oaltemoa, vmpa ceioal cate: yoan qujnpiaia tlamacazque, yn jntoca Iiopuch: [793]

Auh yn otlatujc, niman ie ic oalquiça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ie yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, qujnapaloa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quauitl tlaca ietiuh: auh in qujnapaloa, itoca topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal ynjc muchichioaia, yvitzitzilnaoal, yianecuiouh, yteucujtlapã, ychalchiuhcozquj: auh yn icujtlapan pilcatiuh, iehoatl in cujtlatezcatl, çan muche in teuxiuitl: 796x 293

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1. See Lib. III, cap. i, § 1.
2. Described as companion of Uitzilopochtli (Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 146, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. III, p. 111.

● 776 **Second Chapter**, which telleth how they considered a god one named Titlacauan or Tezcatlipoca; even as an only god they believed in him.

Of this one who was called Titlacauan they said that verily his were the heavens and the earth. All these in truth he made. And he gave to men all that which was necessary; that by which all live; that which can be drunk. He gave riches to men; he made them prosper.

And also of Titlacauan they said [that he was] invisible—like the darkness; [like] the wind.[1] When sometimes he called out to one, he spoke like a shadow. Verily, what one knew within one, [that] he knew. There was much calling out and praying [to him]. It was said to him:

"O protector of all, O giver of life, O Titlacauan, pity me, give me what is necessary for my life and for my strength—of thy gentleness and sweet essence. For now there is want; there is fatigue in gaining one's needs. [This] now there is upon earth. Take pity upon me; incline thyself to me. For I am thy orphan, I am poor, I am in need. Do I, perchance, serve thee in nothing? For I sweep, I sweep up rubbish, I lay fires there where I attend thee, there in thy poor house. Ah! Quickly slay me, trample me with thy feet! Ah! May my body come to rest!"

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And also they said of Titlacauan that he gave woe and affliction. And men he burdened and scourged with plagues which were great and grave—leprosy, boils, dropsy, cancers, the itch, haemorrhoids, piles, chilblains,[2] and other sicknesses.

And when he laid these upon men, it was when he was wroth—that someone had forsaken his vows and promises, and that he had mishandled the fasting; that a man had lain with a woman [or] a

Inic vme capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn Dios vel ipã qujmatia in iehoatl in mjtoa Titlacaoan, anoço Tezcatlipuca in juhqujma ipan qujmatia ce dios.

In iehoatl in moteneoa titlacaoa qujtoaia ca iehoatl ilhujcaoa tlalticpaque, iehoan muchi vel quichioa: yoan muchi quitemaca, in ixquich in tetech monequj, in nemoalonj, yn ioalonj, iehoatl tecuiltonoa, iehoatl tetlamachtia:

auh yoan in Titlacaoã qujtoaia, amo hitonj, çan iuhqujn ioalli, i ehecatl in quẽmã aca qujnotzaia, çan iuhquj ceoalli tlatoaia, vel teitic tlamati, mati, cenca tzatzililoia, tlatlauhtiloia, ilhujloia,

Tloquee, naoaquee, ipalnemoanje, titlacaoane; xinechmotlaocolili, ma xinechmomaquili, in notechmonequj in nonenca, in nochicaoaca, in motzopelica, in maviaca ca ie mihiiovia, ca ie mociavi, ie vmpa õquiça in tlalticpac, ma xinechmocnoittili, ma xinechmocnomachiti, in njmocnotlacauh in nitoxonqui, in nioaçonqui. Cuix atle nimjtznochivililia, ca nitlachpana, ca nitlacuicui, nitletlalia, in vncan nimjtznotlatolchialia, in vncan mocnochã. auh manoço cuele xinechmotlatlatili, xinechõmocxipachilvi, ma cuele niccevijto in nonacaio.

Auh yoan in titlacaoan, qujtoaia, ca no iehoatl in qujtemacaia in netolinjliztli, in cococ teupouhquj: yoan tetech qujtlaliaia, ic temotlaia in cocoliztli, in vey, in ouj, in teucocoliztli, in nanaoatl, in tlanquaalaualiztli, in qualocatl, in xiiotl, in xochiciuiztli, in quexiliujliztli, in xoteuconaujliztli: yoan in oc cequj cocoliztli.

Auh in jquac tetech qujtlaliaia, iquac in iolitlacoloia: yn aqujn amo qujneltiliaia, yn jnetol, yn jtlacemitol: yoan in qujtlacoaia in necaoaliztli, yn ac ipan

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[1] Tezcatlipoca, according to Caso (op. cit., p. 19), signified the nocturnal cycle and was connected with the moon and all the stellar gods. Hence he brought misfortune, death, and destruction, and was associated with witchcraft. Always young (telpochtli), he was regarded as patron of warriors, and sometimes called Yaotl (war). For this reason he was also connected with Uitzilopochtli. See also, Eduard Seler, *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 28, and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, p. 2.

[2] [illegible]; possibly to be related to [illegible] (Siméon, *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885]); Sahagún, Robredo ed., III, p. [illegible]).

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753 woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[3]

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755 And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his hand toward him.[4] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[5] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore straits, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

776 And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiocoia[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

[778] And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[5a] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had fir branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[6] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cioacuchi oqujchtli, yn ac ipan oqujchcuchi cioatl: yoan anoce monecaoalujltequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaihiiouja cocoxquj, cenca qujtlatlauhtia qujtzatzilia, ymac tlatetoc; qujlhuja.

Titlacaoane, ma oc xinechmocaxaujli, macaocmo iuh njnochiuaz, ma onjcac, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatiliz, moujctzinco njnonetoltia, ma njmjtznotlatlaiecultiliz: intla itla njcnonenextiliz, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocxitzin ic ticmoquechiliquiuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cocoxquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati, yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel :: in quenmanjan cahoaia: qujlhujaia.

Titlacaoane, cujlonpole: ic tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman qujnpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequjntin tel njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacaoan, no qujtocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçaoalpilli: auh ynjc motenehoa, moiocoia, in tlein qujiocoia. in tlein qujlnamjquj, njman qujchioa: aiac qujiocoia, aiac quelleltia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jaqujch anaoatl tentica, yn aqujn qujnequj qujcujltonoz, qujcujltonoa: yoan yn aqujn qujttitiz, in cococ teupoulqui, qujttitia. Auh yn iqujn moçomaz, immonenequiz, yn jqujn tlatziuiz, qujoalpachoz yn ilhujcatl topan manj, tipopoliuizque.

Auh yn titlacaoan, qujcentzacutimanca yn njca ynic notzaloia, in tlatlauhtiloia in tzatzililoia: auh novian qujtlalilia yn jchial, in momoztli in vtlica, in vmaxac, noujian chialoia. Auh in momozco acxoiatl qujtlalilia, ynjc tlamacujlti ilhujtl, ynjc tzonquiça cempoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh muchiuhtiuja, yn jpan cecentetl ilhujtl, ynjc tlantioh cecempoalilhujtl.

ic iaqujch.

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3. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has [illegible] and [illegible], probably errors for [illegible] and [illegible].
4. See Pl. 7.
5. In "Paralipómenos de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Garibay notes that [illegible] may also be more literally rendered "[illegible]".
In this paragraph, we have read [illegible] as [illegible]; it might equally well be [illegible] (I shall sing).
5a. [illegible] in the corresponding Spanish. See, however, Molina, op. cit. ([illegible]), and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, pp. 50, 102. The term [illegible] is variously translated.
6. See Pl. 8.

Third Chapter, which telleth—in which is related—[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, crowding in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it is said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Tolteca, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Tolteca, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuime*.[5]

Injc Ey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in itoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej naoalli catca: in canjn tlatocat, yoan in tlein quichiuh iquac ia. 539 [776]

In ichoatl, in quetzalcoatl: iuhquijma teutl ipan quimatia, moteutiloia, teumachoia, in iquin ie vecauh, in vmpa tullan.

auh in vncã onoca in iteupan, cenca vecapã, cenca quauhtic, itlachiquauhtic, itlachivecapan, cenca miec in itlamamatlaio, vel tecpichauhtoc, amo papatlaoac, çan pitzatoton, amo vel coce xocpalli, vmpan onoca [346]

quil çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan ixtlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil atlacacemelle catca:

in ixxaiac iuhquijn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlaxtic, tentzonpachtic,

auh in tolteca, in imacevalhoan, cenca mjmatia, atle ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchiujtl, yoan teucujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiotl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in ixquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan iteucujtlacal, yoan itapachcal, yoan itecciztcal, yoan ioapalcal, ixiuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imacevalhoan, in tolteca hacan in veca quichioaia, vel iciuhca acitiuetziia in campa via: auh injc cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

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[1] Naualli. Garibay (op. cit., pp. 170, 171) translates the term as *brujo*, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) if naual is the root, a wizard-quadruped is implied; (2) if the root is nahualli, nahuala (an archaic verb surviving in compositions), then the meaning is close to magician or prestidigitator, or—following Molina (cf. nahualcuepa, [illegible], nahualtlachia, etc.)—to fool; (3) if the root is the Maya na, nan, naua, then the meaning approximates wisdom, science, magic. Garibay favors the second possibility.

[2] Seler (Einige Kapitel, p. 265, n. 1) corrects in canjn to in quenin. This is perhaps more logical.

[3] As a deity, Quetzalcoatl was wind god and priest god (Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 28), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (Caso op. cit., p. 19). See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most coherent account of Quetzalcoatl as the priest-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, of which the best editions are Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Códice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 42, 69ff., in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 11ff. in Velázquez's *Códice*), he reigned at Tula for ten or twenty years following A. D. 873, having been born thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Totepeuh, who died A. D. 834. (See supra, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have swallowed a green stone, and from it to have conceived. See also Torquemada, op. cit., p. 80.

[4] Teocuitlatl: gold or silver, according to Rémi Siméon, op. cit. Specifically, *coztic teocuitlatl* (or *coztic teocuitlatl*) is gold, and *iztac teocuitlatl* is silver. Cf. Molina (op. cit., Spanish-Mexican section).

[5] Those who walked the whole day without tiring, according to Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 114.

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

The Lord of Tlalocan

821 776 He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, [137] fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chia*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

821 793 785 And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Ic macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mixtli.

Tlalocã tecutli.

Teutl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quiiauitl, in atl: iuh quitoaia, ic quichioa in ticoa, in tiqui, in qualoni, in ioani, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocochca, in tonemilca, in tocemilhuitiaia, in tonacaiotl: in ie ixquich xopaniotl, in ixmolintoc, in celiztoc, in quauitl, in oauhtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in suchitl, in xiuitl.

Auh in iquac ilhuiquixtililoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: in motenena calmecac monepana, mozcaltia.

In iquac oacic nauilhuitl, in ie necaoalo, in ie ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontitlaça, onmotzotzopontimaiaui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquititlan quinemjtia, quipopolactia, quiuiuilana: icpac cantinemi, quititilicça, atlã tlatzotzopotztinemj, aicotztinemi, tlamomolotztinemi: inic mouiuixtlatinemi, in tlamacazque,

in otlatlaco, in calmecac itlã onchioalo: intlanel çan aca ômotepotlami, itlã oconicxixopeuh, oc uel ic conaciqui, ic ic inmal ça quipipia, aocmo conjxcaoa, inic catlampapachoque.

Auh amo çan quenjn quipoloa: uel quicocoltia, quellelaxitia, ça quen quimattoc, ça mopopoçauhtoc, ça içomocatoc, ça micqui in quioalmaiauj atenco: aiac uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimonana in intahoan, in innahoan. Auh in aquin quitlamauhcaittilia, in quitlatlmachilia ipiltzin, inic amo catlampapachozque: conquixtiaia itlatzin quinmacaia in tlamacazque, aço totolin, aço tlequalli: ic quicaoaia.

Sixth Chapter. Here are mentioned the snow, the clouds, and the hail.

[Frost]

The frost [god] was called Itztlacoliuhqui. Once yearly the cold came. During the feast of Ochpaniztli the cold began. And for one hundred and twenty days—one hundred and twenty suns—this persisted and there was cold. And it ended and disappeared [during the feast] called Tititl.

When [the month] came to an end, it was said: "For the frost hath departed. Now there will be sowing—it will be the time of sowing. Already land will be planted, so that [seeds] will be placed in the soil. Already it is warm, mild, calm. Already the season is good, the time is propitious; the hour is at hand; the time is ripe; the moment hath come." [For] already they hastened and were diligent. Already there was unrest; all men would be agitated and solicitous; they would be preoccupied. No longer would there be rest. Already the days would fly;[11] already there would be the setting forth for the working of the fields, the fresh working of the soil, the reworking of the fields; already the fields would be reworked. Now there would be planting of beans; beans would be placed. Now amaranth seed would be cast broadside; amaranth would be placed. Now *chia* seed would be cast; chili plants set out and transplanted. Already off-shoots would be pruned and separated, and all would bear fruit.

Snow

It was only the servant and companion which followed, accompanied, and spread the frost over the earth. It was considered to be like the rain. And it was said that when there was snow, [crops] would be harvested; the crops would be good. It foretold, and was an omen of, [good] crops.

Ic chiquacen capitulo, vncan mitoa: in cepaiauitl, yoan mixtli, yoan in teciuitl.

Cetl, mitoa: itztlacoliuhqui, cexiuhtica in oallatiuh, in cecuizi: ipan ochpaniztli, in pehua cecuizi. Auh chicoacempoalilhuitl, chicoacempoaltonal: in mani, in cecuizi. Auh ipan quiça, ipan poliui, in itoca tititl: 821 776

inic tlami, mitoa ca oquiz in cetl, ie tocoz, ie toquizpan, ie tlatlalaquiloz, ie tlallan onotlatlaliloz: ie tlatotonia, ie tlacacaoaca, ie tlaiamania: ie qualcan, ie uncan, ie imman, ie tlaimman, otlaimmantic: ie tlacihui, otlacihuh, ie neamaloz, ie neacomanaloz, ie nemociuiloz, ie tlamociuiz, aoc onnetlatlaliloz: ie tlacatl eoaz, ie motocaz in tlaelimictli, in tlapoponolli, in çacamolli, ie çacamoloz, ie etlaxoz, ie etlaçaloz: ie oauhpixoloz, ie oauhquetzaloz, ie chienpixoloz, ie chiltecoz, ie chilaquiloz: ie onpipilcotoz, ie onnemaiscohoaz, ie netlacatiloz.

Cepaiauitl.

Çan iuical, çan itlauical, quinoquilia, quitocatiuh, yoã onotiuh in cetl: iuhquin quiauitl ipan poui. Auh mitoa, in iquac cepaioui: pixoz, tlamochioaz: quinextia, inezca in pixquiztli. 821

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[11] Here we follow Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Wahrsagerei, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken, aus dem aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagún's übersetzt und erläutert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1950), pp. 53, 308-309. An alternative, however, might be "turn on forth, or else" (ibid., sec).

Our rendition of onpipilcotoz and onnemaiscohoaz is provisional.

Clouds

821 ● [776] When [clouds] billowed and formed thunderheads, and settled and hung about the mountain tops, it was said: "The Tlalocs are already coming. Now it will rain. Now the masters of the rain will sprinkle water."

Hail

It was formed and took shape when very white clouds settled on mountain tops. It was said: "Now it will hail; now our food will be hailed out."

And thus did hail fall, making a din as of rattling, beating one about the head, pelting one [as if] with stones. Thus, truly, died and were despoiled our crops. For some distance, it flattened on the ground and spread birds over the surface of the water. At that time the water dwellers went gathering for themselves; they brought in their catch.

821 789 And that it might not hail, that they might not be hailed upon, and the young maize plants might not be damaged by hail, then the [sorcerers who] cast away hail and rain drove and headed it off. They removed it from the waters [of the lake]; they showed it the way and took it [hence]. Or else they cast it forth into the deserted places, the uncultivated lands where there were no crops, no one lived, and nothing existed; poverty-ridden lands—barren lands where nothing grew, nothing issued: the land was void. It was only an abandoned place; the [very] stones were dry.

Mixtli.

In icoac tepeticpac moloni, momoloca, motlatlalia, mopiloa: mitoaia, ca ie uitze in tlaloque, ie quiiauiz, ie pixauizque in aoaque.

Teciuitl

Ic muchiua, ic neci: in icoac tepeticpac motlatlalia mixtli, cêca iztac: mitoa, ca ie teciuiz, ie teciuiloz in tonacaiotl.

Auh inic uetzi teciuitl, iuhquin tlacacalaca, tequacacalanja, temomotla: vel ic miqui, ic ixpoliui, ic tonacamiqui, cematl quimana, atlixco quinmana in totome. Auh vel oncan mopixquia, quin mopixquia, tonacatlama, in atlaca.

Auh inic amo teciuiz, inic amo teciuiloz, inic amo tecinmiquiz toctli: niman quitopeoa, quipeuia, in teciuhtlazque, in quiiauhtlazque: atlanpa quiquanja, quitlachieltia, quiuica: anoço vmpa quitlaça in çacatla, çacaiztlvacan, in atle imuchioaian, atle iionoia, atle onoc, atle iieoaia, atle costoc, atle iquiçaiâ, atle quiztoc, atle onuetztoc: çan iuhcatla, tetl oaoacca.

821 [176] These people attributed the wind to a god whom they named Quetzalcoatl, something like god of the wind. The wind bloweth from the four quarters of the world by command of this god, according to what they said. The first quarter it cometh from is from the east, where they say is the terrestrial paradise which they call Tlalocan. This wind they called Tlalocayotl. It is not a furious gale; when it bloweth, it doth not hinder the canoes from moving on the water. The second wind bloweth from the north, where they say hell is; and hence they name it Mictlampa ehecatl, which meaneth the infernal wind. *In hin uel imacaxo*, etc.: this wind is violent, and therefore they fear it greatly. When it bloweth, canoes cannot go on the water. And all which are on the water come out with all the speed they can [muster] because of fear when it bloweth; for often they are endangered by it. The third wind bloweth from the west, where they said was the abode of the Amazons. They called it Ciuatlampa ehecatl or Ciuatecayotl, which is to say wind which bloweth from where the women abide. This wind is not savage, but it is cold. It maketh one tremble with cold. With this wind, navigation is good. The fourth wind bloweth from the south, and they name it Uitz-

Esta gente atribuia el viento a vn dios q̃ llamauan quetzalcoatl bien asi como dios de los vientos. Sofla el viento de quatro ptes del mundo por mandamiento deste dios segun ellos dezian. De la vna pte viene de hazia el oriente, donde ellos dizen estar el payso terrenal al qual llaman tlalocan. A este viento la llamauan tlalocayotl: no es viento furioso, quando el sofla no impide las canoas andar por el agua. El segundo viento sofla de hazia el norte donde ellos dizen estar el infierno y asi le llaman mictlampa ehecatl que q. d. el viento infernal. Yn hin vel ymacaxo etc. este viento es furioso y por eso le temen mucho quando el sofla no pueden andar las canoas por el agua. Y todos los que andan por el agua se salen por temor q͂ñ el sofla con toda priesa que puedẽ porque muchas vezes peligran con el. El tercero viento sofla de hazia el occidente donde ellos dezian que era la abitacion de las amaçonas llamauanle ciuatlampa ehecatl o ciuatecayotl que q. d. viento que sofla de donde abitan las mugeres. este viento no es furioso: pero es frio, haze templar de frio con este viento bien se nauegan El quarto viento sofla de hazia el medio dia y llamanle vitzlãpa ehecatl q. d. viento q̃ sofla de aquella pte donde fueron los dioses que llaman viuitznaua: este viento en estas ptes es furioso,

821 ● [776] Variously they named the sheet lightning or thunder bolts. They attributed them to the Tlalocs or *tlamacazque*. They said that these made the thunderbolts and sheet lightning and peals of thunder, and [that] they smote with them whomsoever they would.

Por diuersos nombres nonbran al relampago o rayo atribuyãle a los tlaloques o tlamacacos. Dezian que ellos hazian los rayos y relampagos y truenos y ellos herian con ellos a quien querian.

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Fifth Chapter

Clouds and rain these natives attributed to a god whom they called Tlalocan tecutli, who had many other [gods] under his command, who were named Tlalocs and *tlamacazque*. These [people] thought that they created all things needed for the body, such as maize and beans, etc.; and that they sent the rains so that all things growing in the earth would

Las nubes y las pluuias atribuianlas estos naturales a vn dios que llamauan tlaloca tecutli, el qual tenia muchos otros debaxo de su dominio a los quales llamauan tlaloque y tlamacazque. Estos pensauan que criauan todas las cosas necesarias pa el cuerpo como mayz y frisoles etc. Y que ellos embiauan las pluuias para que naciesen todas las cosas que se crian

821
776

They said that these gods[1] made the clouds, the rains, and hail, snow, peals of thunder, sheet lightning, and thunderbolts.

Estos dioses dezian que hazian las nubes y las lluuias, y el granizo, y la nieue, y los truenos y los relampagos y los rayos.

821

The rainbow is something like an arch of hewn stone. It showeth divers colors. When it appeareth, it is a sign of clear weather.

El arco del cielo es a manera de arco de canteria tiene aparencia de diuersos colores. quando aparece es señal de serenidad.

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[1] [i.e. Tlalocan tecutli & Tlalocs & tlamacazque - A]

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma, in oqujma in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, ichoatl in don hernando Cortes. 000

Qujmjlhuj tla xioalhujan moccloquijchtle, tla xioalhujan quil iequene oqujçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjqujti, vel xitlacaqujcan, vel xinacaçocan, tlein qujtoz, vel nacaztli in anqujoalcujaque: izcatquj ic itech amacizque in totecujo,

ichoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: coaxaiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapanecaiotl, chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlacomalli, yoan centetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yoã quetzalpanio; yoan tezcacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin tezcacujtlapilli, iuhqujn xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuextli, teucujtlacoiollotoc: njman ie iehoatl xioatlatl, çan motqujtica xivitl, iuhqujn coatzontecometica, coatzontecome, yoan itzcactli. 776 301 431 [416]

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[1] *Tlanaoati: tlanauati* is probably meant.

[2] Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 461, n. 1, says: "*In Wahrheit ist dies die Tracht Ehekatls.*"

[3] Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: *una mascara labrada de mosaico de turquesas traía esta mascara labrada de las mismas piedras una culebra doblada y retorcida cuyo doblez era el pico de la nariz y lo retorcido yua hasta la frente era como lomo de la nariz luego se diuidia la cola de la cabeza y la cabeza con parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el vn ojo de manera que hazia ceja y la cola con parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el otro ojo y hazia otra ceja.*"

[4] Corresponding Spanish text: "*Estaua esta mascara encasada en vna corona alta y grãde llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que poniendose la corona sobre la cabeça se ponja la mascara en la cara.*"

[5] Cf. *Codex Vaticanus.* The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Estaua por joel una medalla de oro redonda y ancha estaua asida con nueue sartales de piedras preciosas que echados al cuello cubrian los hombros y todo el pecho.*"

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: "*Estaua tambien una rodela grande bordada de piedras preciosas con vnas vandas de oro que llegauan de arriba abaxo por toda ella: y otras vandas de perlas atrauesadas sobre las de oro de arriba abaxo por toda ella y los espacios que hazia estas vandas los quales eran como mallas de red yuan puestos vnos sapitos de oro traya esta rodela unos rapacejos en lo bazo yua asida en la rodela vna vandera que salia desde la manjja de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas.*"

[7] *Ibid.*: "*una medalla grande hecha de obra de mosaico que la lleuaua atada y ceñida sobre los lomos.*"

[8] *Ibid.*: "*un cetro como cetro de obispo todo labrado de obra de mosaico de turquesas y la buelta de arriba era una cabeça de una culebra rebuelta o enroscada.*"

451 476 292 301 The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Tezcatlipoca — the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals. [416]

[237] Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise. [416]

[237] Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[a] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc vntlamantli quimacato, ichoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlacitlallo, yoan iteucujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan concatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjiacac hivitica tenpoponquj: yoan centetl tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujiolnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamantli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

Injc etlamantli, ichoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaztatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motquitica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnavaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no ichoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, tocivio; veitepel in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacatica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcoiolli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzaltençoalhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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[9] Ibid.: "una cabellera hecha de pluma rica que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura estaua sembrada toda de estrellas de oro."

[10] Ibid.: "unas orejeras de oro que tenian colgados unos cascauelitos de oro y un collar de caracolitos mariscos blancos y hermosos donde estaua colgado un cuero que era como peto y tenia cercado [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, tenia otros muchos caracolitos [illegible] y [illegible] por todo el."

[11] Ibid.: "un cosete de [illegible] blanca pintado la orilla de abaxo donde estaua una bordadura con plumas blancas con [illegible] por todo el rededor."

[12] Ibid.: "una manta rica la tela della era un azul claro y toda labrada encima de muchas labores de un azul muy fino llamauan esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se ponia por la cintura atada por las esquinas al cuerpo."

[13] Ibid.: "un [illegible] de [illegible], atado al cuerpo sobre los lomos."

[14] Ibid.: "unas orejeras de chalchihuitl, anchas que tenian dentro unas culebritas de chalchihuite."

[15] *Tezcacuitlapilli* is probably meant in the Aztec column.

[16] Corresponding Spanish text: *una mitra de cuero de tigre, y colgaquan [sic] de la mitra, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuervo, tenian la mitra un chalchihuitl grande y redondo, en la punta.*"

[17] Ibid.: "de mosayco de turquesas."

a [There is no known genus of pheasant native in the New World. Perhaps the term is used colloquially. — Analyst] golden shells tied upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecaxonecujlli, quacolhic, iztac chalchiuitl inic 431
citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 776
301
292

Oca inqujtlamãtli in, in moteneoa teutlatqujtl in 431
intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tla- 301
mantli in qujtqujque in intenamiquja Teucujtlaquaxicalli toztlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc.

Njman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichioalo. Auh 431
in omotecaque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaoatia [482]
in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana
anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: 202
xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico:

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica 505
qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oneoaq̃ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal.

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac amevan? campa an- 648
vallaque?

njman iuh qujnoananqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujpiquj, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Njman ic qujoaliecatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no qujnalquetzque ecaoaztli.

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18. *Ibid.*: "la qual rodela estaua bordada con plumas ricas en lo baxo de la rodella [*sic*] salia una vanda de plumas ricas."

19. *Ibid.*: "un baculo labrado de mosayco de turquesas y en lo bajo de arriba puestas unas piedras ricas o perlas amontonadas en lo alto de arriba."

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "una mitra de oro hecha a manera de caracol mariscos et unos rapacejos de plumas ricas que colgauan hazia las espaldas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "otra mitra llana."

[p. 14 is blank]

101 panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans
177 until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves
much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[illegible] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[illegible]

212 The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec
zone provides us with a potential source of information on this
formerly almost unknown region.[illegible] Though the codices are still un-
805 exploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-
776 Mexican[illegible] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that
346 the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple,
which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico
now stand, was called Yopico.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the
151 province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and
to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan
712 Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Toto-
tepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in
adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually
being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered
in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of
independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca
looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Ortega's startling discovery of the
212 balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[illegible] and its identification by Toscano

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[illegible] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[illegible] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[illegible] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[illegible] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[illegible] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the
● [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls
[381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood 346
that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole 778
place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the left hand there stood the other great image the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and [416]
eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call *Tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; [776]
and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and in it was another image half man and half lizard, with precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure [776]
is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest, but I do not remember its name, and everything was covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when 346
they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to [534]
say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In that small place there were many diabolical things to be [534]
seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols, and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

346 so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

● 776 Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

783 When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship,

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But |105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my "chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in "all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my "duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for "many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not graciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently* given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I "shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and "I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this |74
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently |81
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

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[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 459). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 137 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus [311]
of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Géronimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hiciéron fuertes, en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carriço, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 463. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espesura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.")

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, [17]
1524, pp. 460, 461 and 462, of Vol. I, of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also.

626 was disabled or until he voluntarily withdrew.[192] Slanderers,
[681 however, were punished by the kin, having their lips cut off
682] or publicly sliced.[193] Homicide, and murder, were invariably
683] punished by death.[194]

689 Intemperance in public was free to people more than seventy years old, while if grown men below that age appeared in a drunken state (festivities excepted), their heads were shorn clean in punishment. But whenever the delinquent was a chief he was publicly degraded; and any officer was forthwith removed and relieved of his duties.[195] Women who attempted to act as

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[192] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440): "no traen armas sino en la guerra, y alli averiguan sus pendencias por desafios." *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Historia apologética de Indias,*" cap. 213 and 214. Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough, note XLV, p. 124). Bystanders interfered, separating the parties, if they came to blows. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, p. 23), says that such strife and quarrels only occurred when they were drunk: "Y fuera de estar beodos son tan pacíficos, que cuando riñen mucho se empujan uno á otro, y apenas nunca dan voces, si no es las mugeres que algunos veces riñendo dan gritos." (Cap. XIV, p. 76): "Sin rencillos ni enemistades pasan su vida." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, pp. 398 and 399). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136).

[193] *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., pp. 129 and 130) speaks only of children, punished by splitting the lips for lying. This is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 478). *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, p. 482), however, declares this punishment to have been meted out to adults, adding: "to-day there would be many without lips, so much do they lie" *Gomara* ("*Conquista,*" p. 436, Vedia I) speaks of this punishment as having been instituted by Quetzalcohuatl, and for adults as well as for children. This, attributing it to Quetzalcohuatl, is an evident error. Compare *Sahagun*, (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 244). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 480) is positive about adults. *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco,*" p. 195) says that slanderers were killed.

[194] *Las Casas* ("*Historia Apologética,*" cap. 213, Kingsb: Vol. VIII, p. 123): Destos era el que mataba à otro, el cual moria por ello." *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Matan al matador sin excepcion ninguna." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): 'Sentenciaban á muerte á los que cometian enormes y graves delitos, asi como á los homicidos. El que mataba á otro, moria por ello." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VIII, p. 387), almost copies the preceding. Nearly all the authors agree on this point, except, according to *Mr. Bancroft* ("*Native Races,*" Vol II, p. 450, note 50), Durán, who is said to assert: "that the murderer did not suffer death, but became the slave for life of the wife or relatives of the deceased." In this Durán agrees with the "*Codice Ramirez.*" *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro,*" Vol. I, p. 485) says that even for murder committed in a drunken state, the culprit was killed (hung). *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XVII, p. 484) briefly states that all homicide was punished with death. As to the manner of execution, it is variously stated. It would be unsafe to attempt going into details.

[778] [195] It is well known that there was an idol for the drunkards. *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 40) even gives the names of thirteen "dioses del vino." According to *Gregorio Garcia* ("*Origen de los Indios,*" etc. Lib. III, cap. II, §VI, p. 92, who mentions as authority *Fray Estevan de Salazar*, "*Historia, ó Relacion de la Teologia de los Indios Mexicanos*" lost in a shipwreck, 1564), they had three hundred gods of the drunkards "que de solos los borrachos tiener 300 Dioses." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 36) and others. The punishments are given by me after *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXX, pp. 139 and 140). Copied textually by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. X, p. 550). Besides these, *Zurita* (pp. 110-112) asserts the same, even more explicitly, and he is followed by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib, IV, cap. XVI, p. 136). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 485). *Clavigero* (Lib-

drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept: nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wish for public esteem — to become a mer-

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Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, inã ãqual- 787x
li: ynic qualli cecean vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motema-
chiaia, in tlacujloque, quịtlaliaia yxiptla, quịtlama- 782
njliaia: no iehoan in cioa tlâmachchiuhque, icpa-
chiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, aca 286
vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic quịtlaitla- 785
njliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque,
vellalalizque, vellacujlozque: in jpan intlamach, in-
tlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh
mochintin mâaltiaia, maujujxoaia, yn jquac neoalo,
in vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, chicome xochitl:

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aca tlâ- 787x
machchiuhquj, yneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã 286
qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã
âavilnemjz, âavienịtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, 785
mâaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque, 548

qujlmach iehoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia 787x
in inteouh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtema-
caia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjliztli: 286
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auh in aqujn vel ontlamaceoa in vel monotza, ca
oncã qujçaia, mavíztia, momavizçotiaia, cana motz- 787x
tica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tḻpc: 286

no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, 787x
moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tôoltecatiz, tla-
tlanẹmjliz, iôiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz:
auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icno-
pil, çan iaujlqujzca, iqueqŭeloloca in qujmomace-
viaia.

Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelneaca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatocotinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj itonal, conjxtoca, ipan onmjxpoa, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teaachti, tetlâtlavicalti, tecâcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nẽia motlatlaznotla, mone-

x 787 And if it were a noblewoman, or only a common [woman], who was then born, so likewise it was her lot. She was considered as a man, esteemed as if a man; a comforter. Hence she caused others no apprehension, was not negligent, and did not dishearten others.

And also it was said that one who was born upon this [day sign], One Deer — it was told that he was exceedingly timorous; he lived thinking only of his fears; he walked with his terrors, and only lived afraid, indeed frightened to death. When he witnessed a thunder clap, or a bolt of lightning, or lightning flash — a flash of lightning — then he could not endure it. Indeed the lightning and thundering frightened him and caused him to be in terror and dread.

And so they said that sometimes, on some occasions, it happened to him; for his fear followed him and persisted with him; his fears came upon him as a judgment. For his dread came upon him. Verily, he was struck by lightning; that befell him which he feared and of which he lived in anxiety. And even if it was summer, he was still smitten by a summer flash. Also, when he bathed in the water, there he died, drowned; his eyes were torn out;[2] his finger nails were removed and torn out.

Hence was it said: "Verily, so was his lot; so was he born. Even as the deer is a great coward, just so was he, whose day sign this is, a great coward; fearful." So seldom did his kin, his parents, trouble themselves; they did nothing for him.

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782 And also it was told that then, too, was one of the times when those known as the Goddesses descended. They made offerings to them, and then they clothed [their images] in their paper vestments and their paper adornments.

Auh intla çioapilli: anoço çã maceoalli ipan tlacatia, no iuh mâceoale catca, teoquijchtlamachti: iuhquin oquichpovi, teacotlaz, atle ic tenentlamachti, amo tenmachonj, amo tecuetlaxo.

Auh no ioan mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacati ce maçatl: quijmach cẽca momauhtiaia, çan jmaviz in quijmattinenca, çan imauhcac in nemja, çan mamauhcanenca, vel ioimjquja, in jquac qujcaquja tlatlatzinjliztli, anoço tlavitequjliztli, tlapetlanaliztli, tlapetlanjllotl: njman ãconiecoaia, vel quijçaviaia, qujcajcujtiuetztiltia, qujmaviacujtia in onotlapetlan, onotlatlatzin.

Auh iuh qujtoa, in quêman, in quenmanjan ça ipan neltiaia, ca imaviz contocaia, ipã ontlamelaoa, ça imaviz qujtlamachiliaia, ca inemauhtil ipan oniauh, vel vitecoia, ipan muchioaia in qujmacaci, in qujmamattinemj. Auh intlacanelmo xopantla, çan tonalhujteco: no ioan in jquac atlan maltia, vncan mjquja, ilaqujlo, ixtelolococopinalo, iztitlatlano, izticocopinalo,

ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan motlacatili: in iuhquj maçatl, cenca momauhtianj: çan no iuhquj in aquin itonal catca, vel mauhca tlacatl, mavitzoco: ic çanyca mellaquaoa, in joaniolque, in jtaoan, aquẽ commatia.

Auh ioan mjtoa: no vncan ceppa ipan temoia, in motenehoa çioateteu: vncan quijntlamanjliaia, ioan vncan ic quijntlaquentiaia yn jmamatlaquen, in jmamanechichioal λ787 273 one in authority. Haughtily, he thought well of himself. He did not deflate himself; he did not overcome nor chastise his tongue. No one could force him to recant. He thought himself superior, better than others.

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[2] Cf. Spanish text.

Indistinct was his speech. What did he say? He was as if stirred, and his words bubbled up and burst forth. It was as if he argued, harangued, enforced silence, and drove all people away, put them to flight, numbed them with terror, visited them with afflictions, made them shrink with fright, and assailed them with his words.

It seemed that he disgusted others, and did not inquire what they said. Wherever they may have spoken, or undertaken something, he seemed to make little of it and kick it aside. But when he had drunk nothing, he seemed to be dumb, one who whispered, fearful of people, quite frightened.

For all this he excused himself by saying: "It is because I no longer knew what I said; for I was drunk. The wine had taken effect upon me; I was overwrought."

And another drunkard was very suspicious. He misunderstood; not as things were did he hear them. Often he blamed his wife. If anyone only looked at her, he then said to him: "Why dost thou make eyes at my wife?" Then he gave rise to hatred, fury, and murder, etc. And all that which was spoken he took as applying to him. He suspected that when there was occasion for mirth, he was thereby being defamed, the object of ridicule. Without reason he belabored the people. The wine and drinking cursed him.

And if it were a woman, she simply went to her knees; she remained on her knees. No longer was she rational. She sat with legs outstretched; she remained with legs outstretched. And if she were much besotted, if she were much affected, her hair simply formed a mantle over her. She tumbled there, with hair streaming out, etc.

λ787 273 776 All of these kinds [of drunkenness] here mentioned, each one, showed upon and were the doing of the drunkard. It was said: "So is his rabbit. Thus was his day sign; in this way did the wine gods manifest themselves on him." And if a drunkard fell over a precipice, or else fell somewhere [else], it was said: "He was affected by the wine gods." Because in many ways the wine showed its power,

aquijllanj, aiac vel quijtlatolilochtia: vel moiecoatoca, motepanaviltoca,

aixnenquja itlatol, tlein mach quitoa, iuhquin momoloca, iuhquin quimomolotza ytlatol, iuhquin quijcuecuepotza itlatol, iuhquin mooallhuja, iuhquin motititza, iuhquin cactoc quijteteca, iuhquin tecocentlaça, iuhquin tetotocaticalac, iuhquin tepôpouhtitlaz, iuhquin tetotolihuhtitlali, iuhquin tecocototztlali, iuhquin tecujcuijtiuetz, itlatol:

iuhquin tequaceêcepouh, iuhquin acontetemoa, tlein quitoa: canjn mach ontlatoa, canjn mach ontlaana, iuhquj tlatlacaxotla, iuhquin tlaquêqueça: auh in ie atle conj, iuhquin nontli iuhquin anaoatl, vel teimacaxquj, vel mauhquj,

ça ixquich injc mopâtia, in quijtoilhuja: ca aocmo njcma, in tlein njquijto, ca njvintic, ca notech motlali, njtlaneçomalti.

Auh in aca tlaôaquj vel ipan chicotlamati, chichicotlacaquj, amo iuh tlâtlacaquj: mjiecpa tetech quijtlamja yn jcioauh: in açaca çan conjtta, ic cuel quijlhuja: tle ic tiquijxnotza in nonamjc: vncan quijpeoaltia in qualantli, in tlauelli, in nemjctiliztli. Etc. Ioan moch quimocujtia, in tlein tlatolli mjtoa: iuh in tlein vetzquijlilo, in momatica ichoatl in ica nenonotzalo ini vetzquijlilo, çan ilivitz in teaoa, quijveuetcatlachieltia in vctli, in tlailli.

Auh intla çioatl: ça papachiuhtimotlalia, ça pâpachica, aocmo quimati, momemelauhtimotlalia, momemelauhtica: auh intla cenca vel oivintic, in vel oitlelacic, ça itzon quijquentica; vncan quauhtenvetzi, itzon patlaoatoc. Etc.

In ixquijtlamantli in: ijciâ omotecuih, icecciaca itech neci, icecciaca itlachioal tlaoanquj, mjtoa: ca iuhquj itoch, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ic ipan mjtzoa, in totochtin: ioan intla omotepexivi tlaoanquj, in anoço cana ovetz, mjtoa: omotochvi: ichica in mjeccâ quiça itlachioal vctli, ic mjtoa: centzontotochti: ipanpa ca amo çan quezquijch in jnch quiça iqualli.

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it was called the Four Hundred Rabbits; for very few did it affect favorably.

And when, it was said, the day Two Rabbit set in, then was celebrated the feast day of the principal wine god, who was called Izquitecatl. And although only he alone was named, yet at that time they remembered all the wine gods, who became the wine. Thus was Izquitecatl greatly revered. They set up his image in his temple. There they laid gifts before him; for him they sang and provided music with gourd tubes. And before him stood a stone basin, called two-rabbit basin — full, to the brim. Into the wine dipped the drinking tubes, extending from it so that those who sampled the wine stood drinking it: but only those who could drink, the old men, the old women, the intrepid warriors, the bold, the foolish, who paid the debt with their heads and their breasts. That is, they would be captured sometime when war was declared; or else on issuing forth [to battle] they would capture others and take prisoners. So [by drinking] they went about mocking death.

And the wine which they drank never came to an end; [the basin] never stood empty. The wine makers, the wine making officials, continued pouring it into [the basin]. All came assembling there where they cut the maguey, when everywhere it was the time and season for breaking into the maguey. This was because then they offered new wine. If someone for the first time broke into the maguey, he first poured the extracted material there. Thus they said he poured out wine and offered the wine-pouring to Izquitecatl; they gave him wine to drink.

But not only at this time did they pour wine; rather, always were offerings so made in his temple.

Ioan in jquac mjtoaia, mequetza tonalli, vme tochtli: vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, in jmachcauh totochti: in motenehoa Izqujtecatl: auh macivin çan jcel motenehoa, ca oncan qujnocemjlnamjquia, in totochti, ovctli, ic cenca mavizttililoia in izqujtecatl, qujtlaliaia, ixiptla in jteupan: vncan qujtlamanjlia, quicujcatia, qujtlapichilia acocotica: yoan ixpan icaca tecoontl, itoca vmetochtecomatl, tentimanj, pexontimanj, in vctli: ipã manj piaztli, piaçotimanj, mamãço ic conjtimanj in aqujque vnpa ontlatlapaloa: ça çan ichoan in ic tlaoananj, in veuetque, in ilamatque ioan in iaotiaueliloque, in mjxivintia: in aquen tlatta, in qujpopoa, yn intzontecon, yn jmelchiqujuh, qujtoznequj: ca onvicoque in quenmã, in ooalmjto iaoiotl: auh no ce onqujçativi, oaltecalaqujaque ontlamatinj: ic mjtonjqujzquequeloainemoa:

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auh in vctli quja, aquenman tlamja, ãquẽman cactoc, in contecatimanj tlachiq̃que, tecutlachique: inqujch oalacitimanj in tetlãchic, yn noviian tlachicpan, tlachicoaian, ca vncan vitzmana intla aca iiacujcan otlatlapan, vncã achto qujteca in jtlachic: ic qujtoaia tlatoiaoa, qujmanjlia itlatoiaoal in Izqujtecatl, qujtlatoiavilia:

auh amo çanjio iquac, y, in tlatoiaoaia: ca çan muchipa iuh tlamanca, in iteupan.

[p. 18 is blank]

x 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile — they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

x 787 805 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time. Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

x 787 ● 776 778 782 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

x 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Injc chicuei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc macujlli machiotl, in jtoca ce acatl: auh amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, qujlmach in aquique vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, injc chicunauhcalli, in jtoca chicunavi cipactli: qujtoaia qujlmach cenca techichiquanj, ioan teixixpanvianj: auh qujlmach injn machiotl, iehoatl itonal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipilti, vncan muxtlacaia ioan tlamanaia.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in amo qualli, in amo ieccan inqujlhujtl,

qujtoqujlitica yn jpan vme ocelotl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cozcaquauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jzqujtetl in tonalli mjtoaia amo qualli, amo ieccan;

qujlmach itonal catca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. Iehica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjxeoaia, injc teutocoia: auh in jquac in moquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamaviztiliaia in tlatoque, in pipilti, tlamanaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzalcoatl, ixpan qujtlatequjliaia, qujtlamamacaia much iquac qujcencaviliaia, itech qujtlaliliaia, in jzqujtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlatquj, ioan ixpan qujtequjliaia xuchitl, yetl, qujcopaltemjliaia atl, tlaqualli, qujmanjliaia, iuh qujtoaia vncan qujtonaltia, qujtonalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

Auh injc mjtoa: amo iectli, in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço macevalli, atle cenca imacevhal, ilhujl catca, çan iuhqujn ehecatl ipã povia inemilis, ecatocoia, atle itlaneca, inelhoaio mochioaia: ipampa in jtonalpan quetzalcoatl, ecatl otlacat, ca njman iuhcan oquia, no iuhquj ipan mochioaia, intla çioatl,

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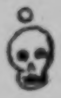
[1] The calmecac, house of priestly learning, is defined as "lugar de linaje de la casa' y cercado de casas" by Arturo Monzón in *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the calmecac calpulli, probably pertaining to clans (as the term is used by Monzón): Yopico, Huitznahuac, Tlamatzinco, Tlillancalco, Tetlanman, and Mexico (pp. 47-52).



X 787 776 782 Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the sixth sign, called One Death, and of the good fortune belonging to it. It was said to be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. And many were the offerings and blood sacrifices with which they did him honor. And each person provided much pleasure to the slaves.

One Death set in. This was said to be a good day sign, but also somewhat bad, as will here appear in its discussion. For it was said that when this occurred, then they honored Tezcatlipoca. The lords greatly venerated [the day sign]. Each one made offerings and beheaded quail at his personal [altar] in his house and in each of the tribal quarters in the temples called *teocalli*.

Thus did they speak: "This one is he by whom we live, Titlacauan, master of the earth, master of the lords of the earth, who now hath his blessed day."

For everyone then showed devotion, was humbled, and sorrowed, in order that he would show them favor. And not alone did the lords thus act, but also the brave warriors, the seasoned warriors, and the wealthy, the rich, and he who was wise; for the day sign of Titlacauan had set in. They also observed the day sign and made offerings in his dwelling place in his tribal temple. For this reason they showed great devotion, for this was the time to pray for favors.

X 787 776 And as for its not being accounted a good and favorable time: there then was fear and dread lest this same one be wrathful and wilful. For thus did they say: "He whom he had favored and honored, and to whom he had revealed his sweetness, fragrance, and mercy, from this same one he might withdraw and remove it." Yet it was not without reason; when [the man] became vain and haughty, he disregarded and neglected what was his birthright. Still [the god] showed compassion and gave it as a gift to the one who sought him diligently and who went about weeping and sighing for his sake. So was it said that everywhere he was awaited; everywhere there was humility and sorrow before him. Nowhere was the dwelling place of the war [god]

Injc chicunavi capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chiquacentetl machiotl, in jtoca ce mjqujztli: ioan in qualli tonalli itech ca, qujlmach itonal in Tezcatlipuca: auh mjec in ventli, in nextlaoalli injc qujmaviztiliaia, ioan cenca qujnpapaqujltiaia in tlatlacoti.

Moquetza ce mjqujztli: ynjn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: auh ioan achi amo qualli, in iuh neçiz nican, ipan itlatollo, ca mjtoa in jquac, y, vncan qujtonaltiaia in Tezcatlipuca, cenca tlamaviztiliaia, in tlatoque, tlamanaia, tlacotonaia, cecenjaca yn jcalitic, in jmjxiquian in cacalpulco, in motenehoa in teucalli, in teucalco:

iuh qujtoaia, ca ichoatl in jpal tinemj, in titlacaoan, in tlalticpaque, in tlalteuce, in axcan itonalpantzinco,

ic muchi tlacatl vncan tlatemachiaia, nentlamatia, tlaoculaia, injc qujcnelia: auh amo çanioque in tlatoque, iuh qujchioaia, y, no ichoan in tiacaoã, in tequjoaque, yoan in mocujltonoa, in motlacamatia ioan in aqujn qujmatia, ca itonal moquetza in titlacaoã, no tlatonaltiaia, tlamanaia, in jchã, in jcalpulco: ypampa injc cenca tlatemachiaia, ca vncan tlaitlanjliloia, injc teicnelia:

auh injc amo qualcan, ieccan, ipan machoia, ca vncan ne[illegible]htiloia, ymacaxoia, injc amo çan no iẽ moçomaz, monenequjz, ca iuh qujtoaia, in aqujn qujcnelia, in oconmaviçolti, in oixpan conqujxti, in jtzopelica, in javiiaca, in jtetlaocoliliz: çan no iẽ conjnailia, conjquanjlia, tel amo çan nen iquac in ie atlamati, in ie cuecuenoti in aoc tle ipan tlatta, conmjxcaoaltia, in jmâceoal, ocatca, oc iẽ qujcnoitta, connemactia, in qujtlamatataqujlia, in jca chocatinemj, elciciuhtinemj, ic mjtoaia: noviian chialo, noviian ivicpa nentlamacho, tlaocoialo, âcan vel ichan in iaotl Tezcatlipuca: çan jtlan conantinemj in jpetl, jcpal.

x787

● 776 Tezcatlipoca: he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

x787 And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

x787 553 851 If, at this time, someone were born, then they bathed him and gave him a name. Small children performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, they therefore called forth [as his name] Miquiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauitl. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

567 At this time it was the day sign[1] of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[2] his beloved sons. [825] It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death[3] ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in aqujn ipâ tlacatia itonal ce mjquiztli: mjtoaia mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anoço çan maceoaltzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pachivia, in maviçotl: iquac in tlauellamacetoa, mocnomati: auh intlacamo uellamacetoa, ca çan yneujian conmocaujlia, qujmjtlacalhuja yn jtonal.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, qujtocamaca, qujxicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oquichtli otlacat, ic qujnotza mjquiz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomavitl, ic qujtocamamaia in Tezcatlipuca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel qujcocolia, aiac vel qujmjquitlanjz, intla aca qujmjqujtlanj, qujmjqujztemach... çan iê in mococolia onmjctiuetzi.

Auh in jquac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacotzitzinti, in tetexatitlan, temetlatitlan inemjan: aiac vel qujmaoaia, aiac vel qujntenquanviaia, qujntlauelnotzaia, qujnqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oqujmatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipuca: njman achto qujntomaia, qujtequjlia, qujntlaxilia in quauhcozcatl, in coliuhquj, injc pieloia, inic ilpitinenca, injc amo cholozque: njman ic quimamoviaia, qujmaltiaia, cenca qujntlaçotlaia, qujnxoxocoiomatia, vel qujnmavizmatia, ipampa iuh qujmatia, ca ixiptlaoa, ipatilloa, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhqujn iquecholhoan, içaquantotoa, itlaçototoan in Tezcatlipuca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel qujonemachtiaia, qujnmjqujznaoatiaia, qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, qujntepitznaoatiaia, in impilhoan, in jntlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo qujmaoazque qujncuecuenochichioazque, anoço qujnvitequjzque in tlacaoâ:

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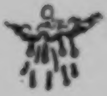
1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: "combidauan a los niños, y les dauan de comer: para q̃ nõbrasen el nombre, del que auia nacido: y le diuulgasen a bozes, por las calles." Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia MS*: [illegible] — *dann ruft er die Knaben. Nachdem sie gekommen sind, gibt er ihnen die Nabelschnur-Opfergabe und fragt (die Angehörigen), wie er heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaotl oder Uitzil (Krieger oder Kolibri). Und darnach fangen sie an zu schreien und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, das Nabelschnuropfer Yaotls essen." Dann melden sie seinen Namen (des Kindes), mit dem alle es nennen sollen.*

2. See Florentine Codex, Book VI, fol. 203v.

3. *Quinmjqujznaoatiaia*: the term as appears in the Nahuatl column.

[1] [i.e., One Death.—Analyst]



X787 Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the seventh sign, named One Rain, and of the evil day signs which belonged with it. They said that those then born were sorcerers and soothsayers and demons. — And *tlacatecolotl* meaneth demon. — Almost all the houses belonging to this [sign] were evil and unfavorable. Only the thirteenth was good.[1] ● [776]

X787 One Rain set in, of which it was said that it was in no way a good day sign. It was full of evil, vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, suffering, anguish, misfortune, and indigence.

X787 776 This was because during the time of this day sign, so it was said, then descended those known as the Goddesses, inhuman ones, mockers of the people. Hence most sternly [parents] commanded their children not to go out; not to travel along the roads. They should only remain at home. Thus did they speak to them: "Go not forth. You will encounter the Princesses, for they descend and arrive upon earth." Hence the fathers regarded them with fear, lest one of [the children] might develop misshapen lips, or crossed eyes, or a hare lip, or be possessed.

778 782 When this [day came], everywhere in the Goddesses' sanctuaries and temples — everywhere offerings were made. For in every single place stood a temple of Goddesses, in each neighborhood,[2] there at crossroads. They covered with white streamers each of the images which were there — five [figures] of stone, placed in a row, their faces rubbed and painted with liquid rubber. He who made a vow to them covered them at the time of their descent, at the time of their day count, on the day sign of their descent. As many of them as there were he covered with white paper streamers.

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicuntetl machiotl, in jtoca ce quiavitl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in jtech catca: quilmach in aquique vncan tlacatia, nanaoalti catca, ioan tetlachivianj, tlatlacatecolo: auh in tlacatecolotl, ca iehoatl quitoznequj in Diablo, achi muchi in calli itech pouhquj, in amo qualli, in amo iectli: çanjio inic matlactetl vmey qualli.

Moquetza ce quiauitl: injn mjtoaia, njman amo qualli tonalli, motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, icnoiotl, icnotlacaiotl, tlaciaujliztli, tlacococaviliztli, teopouhcaiotl, atle onquiçaliztli, atle onecoatinemjliztli:

ipampa in jpan, y, tonalli, iuh mjtoa: ca vncan temoia, in moteneoa cioateteo, âtlacacemelleque, teca mocaiaoanj: ic cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia, in tepilhoan, in aiac quiçaz, aiac vtli quitocaz: çan cali onozque: iuh quimjlhujaia maca xonquiçaca, anmotenamjctiaque, ca temo, ca tlalpan aci in çioapipilti: ic quintlamauhcaittiliaia in tetaoan: injc amo aca tennecujliviz, ixnecujliujz, tenpatziujz, itech quinevaz:

in jquac in, in noviian çioateupan, çioateucalli, novijan tlamanaloia, ca noviian cecenteti mãca, in çioateocalli, cecentlaxillacalpã vncan in omaxac, teteujtl quimonquequentia, in vmpa catca, ymjxiptlaoan, macujlteme in teme, tecpantoca, tlaolxaoalti, moolxauhque in aquin ivicpa monetoltiaia, quintlaquentia yn jquac in intemoia, yn jntlapoalpan, in jpan tonalli temoia, izqujteme amateteujtl quinquentia.

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[1] The Spanish text reads, in part: "*los que en este signo nacen, son nigrománticos, brujos, hechiceros, embaydores. Es de notar, que este vocablo tlacatecolotl, propiamente quiere dezir, nigromántico, o brujo: impropiamente se usa, por diablo: casi todas las casas deste signo: eran de mala disposicion. Pero la decima casa, y la tercia decima casa, universalmente ⁊ todos los signos: eran felices.*" See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book XII, "The Conquest of Mexico," p. 21, nn. 1, 2, 3, on *naualli*, *tlacatecolotl*, and *tetlachiuiani*. Depending upon the context, we have at times translated *tlacatecolotl* as demon.

[2] *Ibid.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 58, n. 13.

x 787 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth ● 776 sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it was of good fortune, and claimed that those then born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And it was said that the women then born were forceful; they were able in all things and made their goods very well. And it was said to be the day sign of Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they observed the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said that all the day signs were good—[all] thirteen.

776 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife, 782 when it tarried for a day, they then made offerings to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Camaxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

776 Thus it is said they made offerings and paid great honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his 782 tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlacatecco. There was his image guarded, and all his 776 array. They had it all spread out before him and laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the humming bird feather cape.[2] [825] But only after them came last the no longer very precious feathers, like the white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them in order, etc.

And all these precious capes, when they spread them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it was said, they sunned them for Uitzilopochtli. And 782 there offerings were made; there they laid out all the gifts, called fast foods. And all the good, prepared

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl machiotl, in jtoca ce tecpatl: ioan qujl qualli in jtonallo, auh qujl in aquique vncan tlacatia chicaoaque catca, ioan tequjoacatia: auh qujl in cioa vncan tlacatia oqujchioalloque catca, muchi in veli catca, cenca uel qujnextiaia in jntlatquj: auh qujl itonal catca in Vitzilopuchtli, in jtech pouhquj catca, in jtequjuh catca iiaoiotl, qujl no itonal in Camaxtle: auh in jquac vmpeoaia inin machiotl, qujlhujqujxtiliaia, auh qujl muchi qualli catca in jtequjlhujtl, matlaqujlhujtl vmei.

Moquetza ce tecpatl: inin ce tecpatl, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltiaia, vncan qujtonaltiaia, ytonalpan catca in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca inteouh,

injc mjtoa: qujtonaltiaia, cenca quimavizttiliaia, in vncan iteupan icalpulco in jtocaiocan catca tlacatecco, vncan pieloia in jxiptla in jxqujch itlatquj, much ixpan qujtequjliaia, qujtotonjaia, qujtlenamaqujliaia qujtlacotonjliaia, in motenehoa quetzalquemjtl, xiuhtotoquemjtl, tlauhquecholquemjtl, tozquemjtl, vitzitzilquemjtl, auh ça qujtoqujlia, qujtzacuja, in aocmo cenca tlaçoivitl, in iuhquj aztaquemjtl, tzanaquemjtl: muchi nononqua qujtecaia, qujtlatlamantilia, qujcuecuentilia, qujvivipana. Etc.

auh much ie in tlaçotilmatli ipan qujtecaia, vncan cemjlhujtia: ichoatl injc mjtoa qujtlatotonjlia in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan vncan tlamanaloia, vncan qujtecaia in jxqujch ventli, in motenehoa tlacatlaqualli: ioan in jxqujch iectli, in tlachichioalli tlaqualli, in

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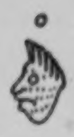
[1] Qujtlacotonjliaia alternatively could mean "they beheaded quail for him."

[2] Corresponding Spanish text: "otra se llamaua quetzalquemjtl, que quiere dezir: capa de quetzales verdes, y resplandecientes: otra se llamaua xiuhtotoquemjtl, que quiere dezir: capa de plumas azules, y resplandecientes: otra se llamaua tozquemjtl, que quiere dezir: capa de plumas amarillas, y resplandecientes: otra se llamaua vitzitzilquemjtl, que quiere dezir: capa hecha de plumas resplandecientes de cinzones."

[3] Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 233. In ibid., p. 168, n. 2, it is jackdaw.



X 787 Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the eleventh sign, called One Monkey, and of its fortune. 776 It was said of those then born that one was a man of good standing, friendly, amiable, and happy, given 753 to music and the other arts. And it was said that at 784 this time descended to earth those who were the "Goddesses"; and that those whom they met on the road or in paths between houses they injured and visited with sickness. And for this reason, when it was this day sign, no one could fare forth. And one who then sickened the physicians forthwith abandoned.

787 One Monkey set in. This Monkey [day sign] they regarded as favorable.

776 But also they said that at that time the so-called "Princesses" or "Goddesses" descended. It was the 784 time when they were expected, the time of their arrival. At this time they looked upon the children 855 with much apprehension. They simply shut them in the houses; they did not wish them to appear at the entrances or on the road, so that [the Goddesses] would not come upon or harm them. Perhaps one of them would have twisted lips, or a shrunken mouth; or be cross-eyed or of weak vision; or his lips would quiver or quake; or he would be maddened — a devil would possess him and he would foam at the mouth; or he would have withered, twisted arms; or be lame, etc.

776 And if someone began to sicken, the physicians told him that he would become dangerously sick; 753 he would not recover. For he had come upon the Princesses, and they had set upon him; it was the time of their descent and arrival when [this sickness] began. For it was [so] willed.

And likewise it was said that if someone were of good standing, of a good day sign, and able, if at this time they injured him, they said that the Princesses had indeed willed it upon him and that he had contended with them.[1]

Injc cempoalli vmume capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl oce machiotl, in jtoca ce oçomatli: ioan in jtonallo, qujlmach in aqujque vncan tlacatia qualli iiollo catca, teicnjoan, tlaçotlalonj, papaqujnj, qujmocujtlaviaia in cujcatl, ioan in oc cequj toltecaiotl: auh qujl in jquac oaltemoia, in aqujque cioateteu in tlalticpac: auh qujl in aqujque qujnnamjqujia, in vtlica, in anoço caltzala qujtlaueliaia cocoliztli itech qujtlalia: auh ipampa in jpan in tonalli catca, aiac vel qujçaia: auh in aqujn iquac mococoaia, çan njman qujxnaoatiaia in titici.

Moquetza ce oçomatli: inin oçomatli, qujqualittaia:

auh ioan qujtoa, no uncan temoaia ínchielpan, imaçia, in motenevaia cioapipilti, cioateteu, ocnca vncã qujntlamauhcaittiliaia in tepilhoan, çã qujntzatzaquaia calitic, amo qujmohqujxtitlanja, in qujiacac, in vtlica, injc amo motenamjctiaque, qujmjtlacozque, aço aca tennecujlivia, tempatzivia, ixnecujliuja, ixvitzalivia, iten papatlacaz, iten viujiocaz, iollotlaueliotia, itech qujneoaz, tenqualacqujçaz, matzicoliujz, macopichaujz, icxi qujujlanaz. Etc.

auh intla aca ipan opeuh mococoa, qujteilhujaia in titici, ca tlanauiz, aocmo qujçaz, ca omotenamjcti, ipan oqujmaque in cioapipilti, ca intemoian, imécoian in opeuh, ca oelcujlac:

auh no ioan mjtoa, intla aca qualli yiollo, in qualli itonal, ioan qualli itlachielitz: vncan qujtlacalhujaia, qujtoaia: ca çan oqueleujque, oqujnmonamjcti in cioapipilti.

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si alguno que era bié dispuesto, enfermava en estos días, dezian: que las diosas le auian dessendido la buenaventura, y se la auian quitado."

X 787 ● 776 666 **Twenty-fifth Chapter,** which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxictentica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

X 787 776 778 782 — then set in the one named One Dog. This, they said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedicated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli. They formed his image there in his temple. There they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] *nextlaoalli.* All the food [and array of] Tlalxictentica[3] they burned before him.

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[4] they made [the god] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They spattered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

Injc compoalli on macujlli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcujntli: inin qujlmach qualli tonalli, ioan qujl itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in qujtoaia Tlalxictentica, cenca vei ilhujtl qujchioaia: ioan ypan motlatocaaltiaia in tlatoque.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, ce itzcujntli: injn qujtoaia qualli tonalli, vncan qujtonaltiaia in tletl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: qujtlaliaia yxiptla in vmpa itecupan: vncan qujtlamanjliaia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, qujchichioa, qujcecencaoa, in jxqujch amatlatqujtl, inmac iecauja in moteneoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, qujviiotiaia, qujvitzetzeloa, qujnepapanjviiotia, tlaçoiujtica qujnepapanivitzetzeloa: ioan qujchachalchiuhiotia, quitocaiotia nextlaoalli, itlaqual in tlalxictentica, much ixpan qujtlatiaia:

auh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujltonoloia, in puchtlan, in amantlan: cenca qujveichioaia injc qujmaviztiliaia, tlatlaqualoia, aatlioaia, netlacamacho, necoanotzalo, oc ueca ioac, cenca oc tlaujzcalpan in qujtlatiaia amatl, in mjtoa ic qujtlamaca tletl, qujvicatiuh, qujtocatiuh in copalli, cecen petlacalli, ovn petlacalli in contepeoa tleco, chipaoac, iztac copalli: ioan qujncotona çoçoltin, iuhqujn tlecujlixquac tlâpatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieço nemamacaoa, tlalli ic neujujteco tlecujlixquac qujtzitzicujtza, qujnonoquja in jmeço: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac qujtotoiaoa in vctli: auh çatepan tlecujlnacazco nauhcampaixti qujtotoiaoa:

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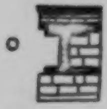
1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Este decian: ser el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o tlalxictentica."*
2. *Ibid.*: *"los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica: hazian la fiesta de su eleccion."*
3. *Ibid.*: *"cerca de la mañana, quemauan las ofrendas de papel, y copal, dizien: que con estas cosas, dauã de comer al fuego."*
4. Monzón, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 64, 68: *calpulli* of merchants, feather workers, etc.



Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned the fifteenth sign, named One House. And it was said to be evil. It was said that the men then born were thieves, patrons of vice and sin. All which befell them was bad. And it was said that the women [then born] were very lazy and much given to sleep, and did nothing useful.

—One House. This One House, they said, was a totally evil day sign, the breeding-place of vice and sin. And also, at that time, descended the so-called Goddesses; and what then came to pass hath already been told in many places. The midwives especially paid them honor; each one individually made offerings to them in her own home.

He who was then born, they fully expected, would thus come to a bad end: perhaps he would die in battle, or be taken captive; or perish at the crossing of the waters; or he would enter [among the foe] and be carried off. Perhaps he would be offered as a striped one in gladiatorial sacrifice, or be shot full of arrows; or his head would be burst in the fire, or he would be cast into the flames. Perhaps they would twist him in a net, or smash him, or tear out his entrails — violently tear out his entrails: or just destroy him like a water rat, pushing him under the water, spearing and stabbing him; or they would just cook him [in the steam bath].

And in this way he would come to a bad end. Perchance he would commit adultery. Perhaps he would covet a woman. Perhaps he would covet another's woman. Perhaps he would eat another's food, lift his head from another's [bed]. And the woman would be his companion in death; they would break and smash both their heads. Hence were adulterers called "broken heads" or "smashed heads."

And so in this way he came to a bad end. Perchance he would sell himself, would eat and drink his substance, would swallow himself, would put an end to himself.[1] Discontented, nowhere did he feel tranquil. Thus he lived a thief. He robbed, he

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo: vncan mote- 787^{x}
neoa, injc caxtoltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce calli: ioan
qujl amo qualli, qujl in vncan tlacatia toqujchti, ich-
tecque catca, teuhtli tlaçolli qujmocujtlaviaia: mochi
amo qualli in jnpan mochioaia: auh qujl in çioa
cenca tlatziuhqui, cenca cochinj, njman atle qualli quj-
chioa.

In ce calli: jnjn ce calli, qujtoaia, njman amo 787^{x}
qualli tonalli, tlaçolli, teuhtli iiolian, ioan no ipan
temoia in omoteneuhque cioateteo, auh in tlein vn- 776
can mochioaia, ie mjieccan omjto: in iehoan titici,
oc cenca iehoan qujnmaujztiliaia, ceceniaca qujntla- 844
manjliaia in jnchachan,

in aqujn ipan tlacatia, cenca qujtlatenmachiliaia, 787^{x}
injc ohujcan qujçaz, aço iaomjqujz, axioaz, iapanio-
can popoliujz, anoço calaqujz, vicoz, aço oaoanaloz,
oaoanoz, aco câcalioaz, aço quatlecueponjloz, aço tle-
pan tlaxoz, anoço qujmatlapatzcazque, queviteqújz-
que, anoço qujxicanazque, qujxictetecoanazque, anoço
çan catoçanpolozque, catlanpapachozque, vncan quj-
xixilizque, tlatzotzopotztinemj, anoço çan qujtemaz-
que,

ioan injc ovican qujçaz, aço tetlanximaz, aço tetlan 787^{x}
aqujz, aço cueitl, vipilli tepan canaz, aço tetlaqualiz, 684
tetlan quateujz: auh in cioatl imjqujztevical iez,
vmextin qujnquatepipitzinjzque, qujnquatexaxa-
manjzque, ic tocaiotilo in tetlanxinquj, quatepitzic,
quatexamac:

ioan injc ovican qujçaz, aço monamacaz, moquaz, 787^{x}
mjz motoloz, motlamjz, âcan avia, acan tlacaco tla-
mati, injc nemj, iichtequj, motlâtlacuja, tetlâtlatla-
lochtia, tetlacújcujlia, tetlatlaçaltia, tecacalxaputla, te-
qujqujmjliquanja,

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "dezian: que seria esclavo, que el mismo se venderia, y comeria, y beveria su precio."

X 787 Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of the seventeenth sign, called One Water. It was said to be an evil day sign. And it was said of those then born that they rejoiced a little only at the beginning of their lives, and that they ended in evil. And it was said always to be evil when they died. And it was said to be the day sign of Chalchiuitl icue, whose feast day the water folk observed.

One Water. This One Water, they said, was also evil. And they said it was quite varied, of different qualities, all good or all bad.

At this time they made offerings to the one named
782 Chalchiuhtli icue, who represented the water. Espe-
776 cially did the sellers of water, the owners of boats —
those who transported water with boats — and
778 those who launched boats, made offerings to her. These formed her image; they set in place the framework [for her image] at her temple, in her tribal district.

X 787 And thus was it said to be diverse [in fortune], one which could not attain and carry with it very much good. That is to say, of the one then born, very few resulted great and fortunate at this time. For according to his deserts, his day sign, he was only all evil, completely surrounded by vice. And in evil he would go; in it he would die. Perchance somewhere he would be stoned — he would be felled by a stone; or else he would be drowned — he would perish in the water.

But even if, on the other hand,[1] he merited some reward, only for a miserable moment, only for a short time, a very short time, and frequently for a brief space, a moment, for a time only, would he partake of his riches.[2] So of him were said the words of the talkative inhabitants, that in the world there are bad days. Sometimes one succeeded; sometimes one failed; if, in his childhood, he should suffer

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc caxtolli omome machiotl, in jtoca ce atl: qujlmach amo qualli tonalli: auh qujl in aqujque vncan tlacatia, çan ipeuhian in jnnemjliz achi paquja: auh injc tzonqujçaia amo qualli, auh qujlmach mochipa, amo qualli, injc mjquja: auh qujl itonal catca in chalchiujtl icue, qujlhujqujxtiliaia in atlaca.

Ce atl: injn ce atl: qujtoa, amono qualli: yoan qujtoa, çan chictlapantli, chictlapantica: ixqujch qualli, ixqujch amo qualli:

vncan qujtonaltiaia: in jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue, in jpan mjxeoaia atl: oc cenca iehoan qujtlamanjliaia, yn anamacaque, in acaleque, acaltica atlacuj, yoan acalquetzque: iehoan qujxiptlatiaia qujtlaliaia ycoloio in jteupan, in jcalpulco.

Auh injc mjtoa çan chictlapanquj yn amo vel macitica motquitica ic qualli, quitoznequi in aqujn ipan tlacatia, çan vej quiçaia cenca çan aca in vncan qujçaia tlacnopilhujani, ca in juh ca vel inmaceoal, itonal çan muchi âqualli in cololotica motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, auh amo qualli ynjc iaz, inic miquiz, aço çan cana tetepacholoz, tetica uetziz, anoço, atocoz, atlan mjqujz,

auh intla ça noço itla imacehualtiz, çã cototzpol, çan cuel achic, çan cuecuel achic, çan achica, çan achitonca, çã achitzinca, çan ixqujch cauitl in, in jxpan onqujçaz in jnecujltonol, ic ipã mjtoa, in jntlatol tlalticpac tlatlatoanj, çan tatacapitz uel in tlalticpac, quẽman veli, quemman aveli, intla ipiltian motolinia, qujn itzonco in achi moiollaliz:

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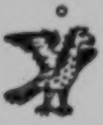
[1] Intla ça noço: [illegible], op. cit., has ca (although, yet) or quemach (as you will) for intlaca, and noço (and now) for noço.

[2] Corresponding Spanish text: "y si algunos bienes [illegible]"



Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was boastful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lesser Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

—One Eagle. This One Eagle, it was said, was an evil day sign. Also at that time descended those named the "Goddesses." It was said, and it was so stated, that they were only the youngest ones, only the sisters,[2] who then came down. Nevertheless, [the people] took great fright, because it was said that they were very harmful, furious, hateful, hostile, and merciless. As they could not be resisted, so they made sport of people, as is told in various places and mentioned here and now. None of the small children might go naked. They were carefully watched, because at this time they might be violently possessed, their lips twisted and withered, their eyes crossed and cloudy, their noses crooked, etc.

And therefore they paid *them* great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads—places where roads came together.

One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Injc cẽpoalli õmatlactli vmey capítulo: vncan motenehua ynjc castolli vmnavi ilhujtl, yn itoca ce quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamaoanj, yoã chicaoque, aiac ixco tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypã teitta: yoan quil in cihoa, amo tle ypã tlachia, yoan cenca tlavilquixtianj, tentlaveliloque, ixquauhti, amo pinaoanj: auh quil yn iquac, oaltemoia yn aquique tepitoton cihoateteu: auh quintlaueliaia in conetotonti, yc amo quinoalquixtiaia in quijiaoac, amono quimaltiaia yn iquac. 787x

In ce quauhtli: ynjn ce quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, in quintocaiotia cihoateteu, quilmach yn juh onmjtoa ça xoxocoio, ça teiccaoan yn vncan temoia, iece cenca vellamauhtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihijioque, tlaveleque, tetlavelique, amo elleltzoluhque, amo iconoaque, njman aixnamjquizti, ynjc teca mavilttianj, yn juh omjto quezquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmã aiac vel petlauhtinenca in pipiltotõti, cenca malhujloia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quinecoaia, tennecujlooaia, tempatzicoaia, ixnecujlicoaia, ixcatzicoaia, iacanecujloaia. etc. 787x 776 ● 855

auh injc cenca quijnmavizttiliaia in vncan inchielpã yn inquiçã cicihoateucalco, in tlatlaxilacalpã, tetlatlaxilacalloc, tetlatlaxilacaltitlan, tõtoltzetzelolo, tlatoltzetzelolo, tlaixalhujlo yn vtlica, yn vmaxac, yn inepanivijan vtli. 776 782

In aquin invicpa monetoltia: in quinquentiz quintlaquentiz, quinchichivilia yn innextlaoal, in cihoateteuh amatl, tlaoolxaoalli, oolpeiaoac, vmpa quinmoquequentia yn inquijxtme, tecpantoque, yn inixiptlaoan ioaloepantla, çan ic onnellivi, ioalli im pepetlamanilila, auh iquac mocaoa yie nepantla tonatiuh, yie tlaqualizpã auh in aquin amo quintlaquentia, çan [778]

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "no los dexauan salir de casa, ni bañarse, el tiempo que este signo reynaua."

[2] *Teiccaoan*: see "Memoriales en 3 columnas," p. 212.

776 began. And when it ceased, it was midday, when it was already time to eat. And he who did not cover
782 them only offered and arranged a little drink and food, or white incense, or coarse incense. The youths, the young seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths,[3] the guardians there at the Goddess' temple, who watched and kept vigil for one night, kept the food as a gift, took and appropriated it to themselves.

And when silence fell, when at each place there was a cessation of offerings, then forthwith began the libations. Only in each person's home, each person's house, was it done. No more did one practise restraint; no more were there inhibitions. They made the old men and the old women drink and poured out the wine for them. So there were tearful greetings of one another and animation of one another, etc.

X 787 And it was said that he who was then born, was perverted. If a man, he became a chieftain, a man-at-arms, debauched, evil, and daring. Only his exploits, his chieftainship, did he relate and make public. He considered that no one rejected him. He pretended to excel others. He respected no one. He wished others destroyed. He despised others. He became presumptuous. And then, being of ungovernable tongue, he interrupted people and belittled the word of others, and scoffed and grumbled at them. He rose up in rage; he constantly shook his head; he interfered in others' affairs; he pretended to know all; he praised himself. He pretended that he spoke well and truthfully. He would not be outdone in talk. He was vainglorious; he was a flatterer. He pretended to be virtuous, but to see no virtue in others. He belittled others' words. He contradicted, denied, and twisted his own words. All his works, all corresponded to him; he merited all; all indeed became him: vices, drunkenness,[4] and corruption. And sometimes, if he became neglectful, he was captured and imprisoned, or died in battle, etc.

It was just the same if it were a woman. She was truly of evil tongue, vile-mouthed, inhuman in speech—big-mouthed, of biting words. Her great joy, her great pleasure, was evil speaking. She was one who vituperated others, who insulted and affronted them. Like a dog, [she let] no one heed her

etzintli, tlequaltzintli in oleuanoia, in contecpanoia, anoço iztac copalli, copalxalli, in tlequalli ichoa quimoveuenja qujmocaujlia, quimocechtia in telpopuchtli, telpochequjoqueque, yoan tiiachcaoã, in vmpa tlapiaz toque cihoateocalco, in vmpa ceiooal oyxtoçoque, oncoçoque,

auh yn ocactiveca, yn onecacanaloc tlamanalo, njman ic peoa I tlatlatoiavililo, ça techachan, ça tocacalitic yn muchioa, aocac ôcmamati, aocmo onnemamacho, ichoãti qujntlaoaniiia, qujntlatoiavilia yn vevetque, yn ilamatque, ic mochochoquiztlapaloa, motllaquaoa etc.

Auh mjtoa yn aquin vncan tlacati, atlacacemelle, intla oquichtli, tiacauhti, oquichti, âquen tlatta, âquen tlatlatta, aiac iaco tlachia, çan jioqujchio, ytiacauhio in compopoa, yn jaco quimana, njman aiac qujmotlaçaltoca, motepanaviltoca, aiac tle ćompoa, motepoloitoca, atle ontepoa, cenca ixmoquixtia, yoã njmã ãtentlacatl, vel tepâpatzoa, tepâpatzaoa, tetlitlivia, tequiquinatza, mîtiloa, moquequacuecuechoa, motlãtlamachiztia, motlatlamachitoca, motlatlanextia, movevellatoltoca, moiciectlatoltoca, âmotêpanavillanj, momamachotla, temâmachotla, moiĉiectoca, âteiectoca, tetêpatztlatoa, motêtencuepa, tlatlatolcotepa, tlatlatolmalacachoa, much ychivil, much qujmopanjtia, much quimolhujltia, much vel itech muchioa in tlatlauelilocaiotl, yn ehi iujntiliztli, yn avilquizcaiotl, auh in quêman intla otlatlatziviti vica, calaqujlo, iaomjquj etc.

Çan ie no iuhquj intla cihoatl, vel tentlavelilóc, camatlavelilóc, ahtentlacatl, tenxaxacal, camatlatetéoa, cenca ipac, cenca ivelmach yn tentlauelilocaiotl, vel tepapacanj, tenovjiantocanj, tepecçotlaoani, iuhqujmma chichi aiac vel qujiacaolinia, qujiacapeionja, yutlaca itech onaci, njmã quitlecavitiquiça, ytech mo-

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[3] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]"—Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 102.

[4] [illegible] in the Real Palacio MS.

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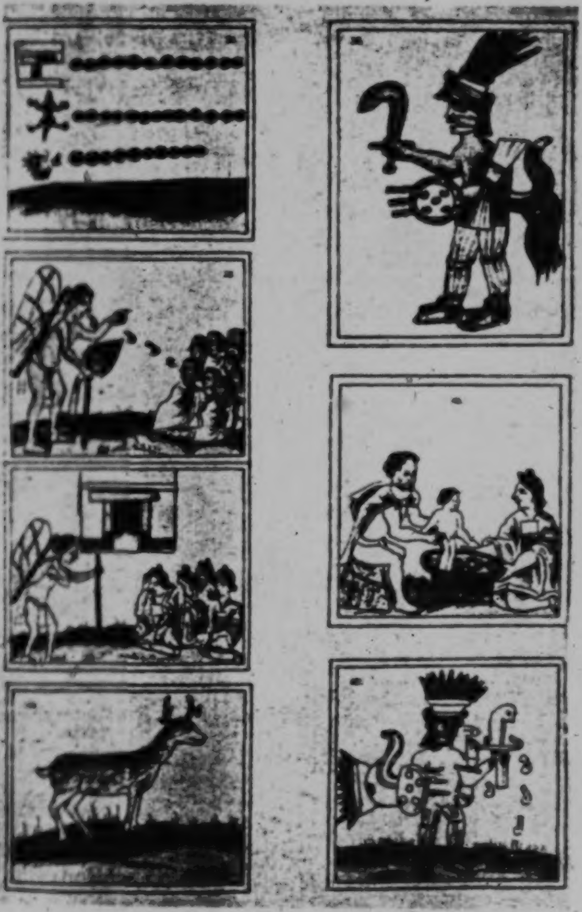

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

56. Twelve House, Thirteen Lizard, and Ten Crocodile (Chapter 15). 57. Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 17). 58, 59. Merchants (Chapter 18). 60, 61. Three Deer and bathing of child (Chapter 19). 62. Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20).

[p. 126 k]

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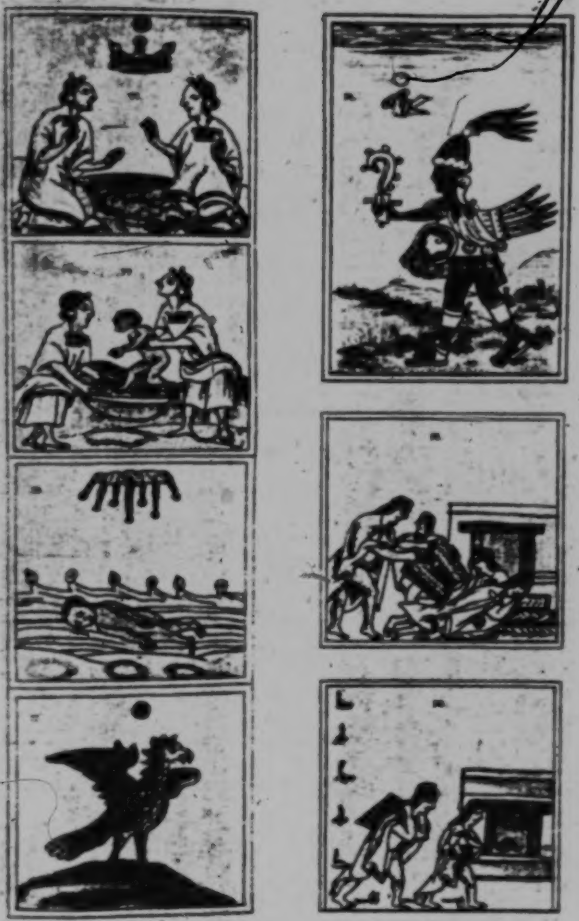

—After Paso y Troncoso

71, 72. One water and bathing of child (Chapter 30). 73. [Eleven] Rain (Chapter 30). 74. One Wind and Quetzalcoatl (Chapter 31). 75, 76. Thieves (Chapter 32). 77. One Eagle (Chapter 33).

[p.126 m]

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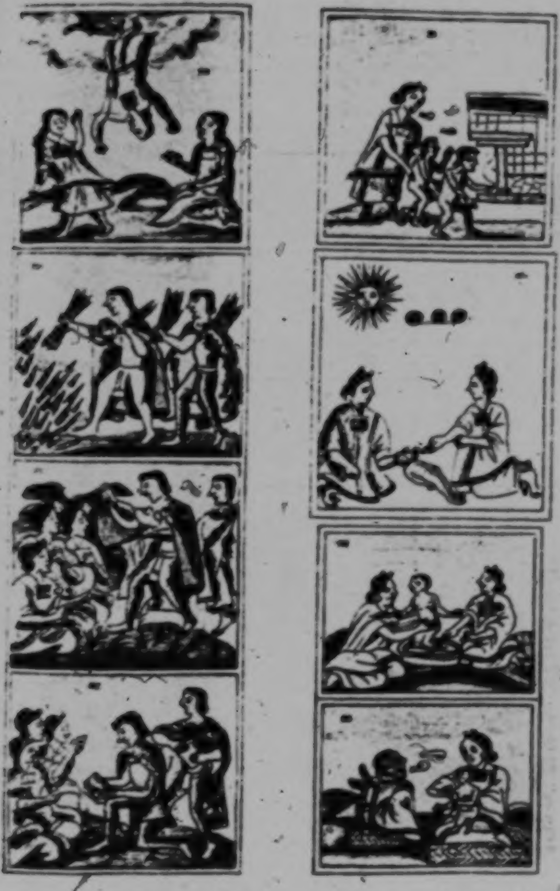

— After Paso y Troncoso

79-82. [illegible] the "Goldsmith" and attendant ceremonies (Chapter 33). 83-85. Visit to the recently delivered mother (Chapter 35).

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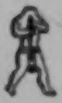

X 787 776 Third Chapter, in which is told the omen taken as a portent when at night they heard as if someone shot iron arrows into something or as if he chopped wood; this they called the night axe.

Likewise there was an omen which was taken as and considered portentous; its name was the night axe. When it made itself heard, it was well into the night,[1] when none spoke aloud.

[793] When the priests went forth to do penances and to lay down fir branches at their places of doing penance on mountain tops, wheresoever they all went, then it was heard that it resounded like someone chopping and splitting wood. It rang out for a great distance; much did it frighten the people. It made them faint and swoon with fear. This night axe, so we are told — it was said that it took the form of Tezcatlipoca, to make sport and fun of people.

They said that he who looked upon it, one who was bold and wise, and not given to fright, of strong spirit,[2] could then hurl himself at it. He seized it and would no more give up, in order to see it. He would call to it as to a person and, indeed, hang on to it — force himself on it — as he pursued it. He followed at its back and forced it on; because thus he could catch it and see what manner of omen his was. Thus do they say, that whosoever would catch it when he saw it could with difficulty approach it; yet he pursued it and made it go everywhere; everywhere he came up to it.

When he tired it, somewhere on the road he awaited it without fear. And when now he saw it, he beheld it like a man without a head — a headless one, with neck severed at the nape, and with chest framework and belly broken open. Thus they said it was thought that that which was heard was his [split] chest framework when its halves met [like] a mouth continually opening and closing, with a sucking sound.[3]

Ic ei capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in tetzammachoia: in jquac ioaltica qujcaquja, in juhquj aca, tlatepuzmjuja: in juhquj quauhxeloaia, in qujtoaia, ioaltepuztli.

No ioan, tetzaujtl catca, netetzaujloia, tetzammachoia: in jtoca ioaltepuztli. Iquac caqujztia, in ouellallimjctimotecac: in aocac naoati.

In ontlamaceoato, in onacxoiatlalito tlamacazque: in jntlamaceoaian tepeticpac, in çaço campa ie, onuja, injc mocaquja, injc caquiztia, iuhqujn aca, tlaxeloa, quauhxeloa: cenca veca caqujzti, cenca temamauhti, teiolmjcti, teçotlauh. Inin, ioaltepuztli, iuh mjtoa, qujlmach iehoatl, ipan mjxeoaia, in tezcatlipuca: injc teca mocacaiaoaia, teca maujltiaia.

qujtoa. In aqujn qujttaia, in mjhiiotia, in iiollo qujmati, in amo momauhtianj, in tonallapaliuj, vel ic momotla: qujmomaca, aiocmo qujcaoa, injc vel qujttaz, qujtlacanotzaz, vel itech mopiloa, itech motlapaltilia, injc qujtoca: qujtepuzzaca, qujtlalochtoca, ipampa injc vel cacis: qujttaz, in quenamj itetzauh: in juh conjtoa, in aqujn vel cacia, in qujttaia: aiaxcan in vel itech pachiuj: oc qujtotoca, noujiã qujmemjtia: noujan caxitia.

Iquac in oqujciammjcti, cana otlica qujoalmuchieltia: auh in ie qujtta in ie qujtztica, iuhqujn tlacatl quechcotonquj, quechcotoctic, quechtepultic: ioan elchiqujuhtlapanquj, ellapanquj: in juh conjtoa: qujlmach iehoatl, in caqujzti, ielchiqujuh: iuhqujn ommonamjquj onmocacamapiquj, onmopipiquj, onchachaquanj.

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: *"el primer sueño de la noche: quando todos duermen profundamente."*

[2] *Ibid.: "algun hombre animoso y esforçado y exercitado en la guerra."*

[3] *Ibid.: "el pecho abierto: y traya cada parte como una portezuela, que se abrian, y se cerravan, hiriendose en el medio: y el cerrar, dezian: que hazian aquellos golpes, que se oyan lexos."* See Pl. 2.

X 787
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And of this [apparition] he to whom it appeared, whether priest or bold one, or reckless warrior, when he had succeeded in reaching and seeing it, then saw his heart. He seized it; he clutched it and took it tightly in his fist; he tore it out. So he demanded what it would give, grant, or award him — perhaps riches, perhaps the taking of captives, perhaps valor; or poverty — perhaps the hoe or the tump line. So was it said that all which it thus awarded him became his gift.[4]

And if it spoke to him, it said: "O our friend, O humming bird, O warrior. What dost thou say to me? What wilt thou have of me? Unhand me, and I shall give thee what thou wishest." At once did it then address him, calling him by his name as a man — whatever was his name — and his name as a nobleman.

And the vassal to whom it had appeared said to it: "I shall not let thee go, for I have taken thee."

Then it said to him: "Behold one thorn; I give it to thee. Leave me alone."

The brave-hearted one liked this not;[5] he thought it not well. At last he left it if it gave him three or four thorns. Thus these showed and made evident that he went skillfully to war, not going forth in vain.[6] As many [captives] would he take as it showed and gave him thorns. Thus he then received as reward all earthly happiness and contentment — flowers, tobacco, riches; capes, lip pendants, head bands.

And also it was said, and so was the common opinion and report, that whosoever could not make it talk, immediately tore and ripped out its heart. He who had cut out its heart fled from it and ran away. He buried it somewhere: he wrapped it up thoroughly and tightly, and later, when it had dawned, he looked at it, and then it showed him whether [his fortune were] good and propitious. When he saw a soft, white feather, or thorns — perchance one, or two — then it appeared that his lot would be good. But if it were not good, he saw a piece of charcoal or a rag. Thus it indicated that his reward had become only poverty and misery.

And whosoever was not of strong spirit, who was not well based — of poor foundations — the coward,

Auh ic ichoatl, in, yn aquin oquimottiti: in aço tlamacazquj, in anoço çan mihiiotoa in iautlaueliloc: in iquac in oc quicac, in ocuel quittac, njman ic quimotzitzquilia in iiollo: quicujtiuetzi, quitlalochana, quimotzoltzitzquia, quicotonilia: ic quitlaitlanjlia, in tlein quimacaz, in tlen quimomactiz, in tlein quimaceoaltiz: aço necujltonolli, aço tlamaliztli, aço oquichiotl: anoço netolinjliztli, aço victli, aço mecapalli: iuh mjtoa, ca much ic quitemaceoaltiaia, innamac mochioaia.

Auh intla ic quinotza, quiluja: Tocnjuhtze, vitzitzile, iaotle: tle tinechiluja, tle tinechnequjlia, xinechcaoa: njmjtzmacaz in tlein ticnequj: vel njman ic tenotzaia, ic quitlacatocaiotiaia, in aquin tlein itoca, in ipiltoca.

Auh quiluja in macehoalli, in oquimottiti: amo njmjtzcaoaz, ca onjmjtzan.

Ic vncan quiluja, izca ce vitztli: njmjtzmaca, xinechcaoa:

amo quijoclia, amo quijuelitta, in iollochicaoac: quinjquac quicaoa, intla eti, anoço ic nauj, quimaca vitztli: ic quinextia, quinezcaiotia, ca tlamatiuh in iavc, amo nenquiçaz: inquj cacic in oquitecevili, in oquimacac vitztli: ic much vncan, quimaceoaltia in tlalticpac paquiliztli, neiollaliliztli: in xuchitl, in iietl, in netlamachtilli: in tilmatli, in tençacatl, in tlalpilonj.

Auh yoã mjtoa, iuhca in nenonotzalli, in tlatlatolli: in aquin amo quijtlatlatoltia, çan vel njman quijcotonjlia, quijtlaxcotonjlia in ijollo: ixpampa ieheoa, motlaloa in oquijcotonjli yiollo: cana quijtlatia, vel quiqujqujmjloa, quijtepitzilacatzoa: quinjquac in otlathujc quijttac, in quijtitta, intla qualli, intla iectli: in conjtta: iztac ivitl in molonttica, anoço vitztli, aço çe, anoço vme, ic quijnextia ca qualli, in jmaceoal: omochiuh. Auh intlacamo qualli, in conjtta: tecolli, anoço tzotzomatli, ic quinextia, in çan icnoiotl, netolinjliztli, oquimaceoalti.

Auh in aquin, amo cenca tonallapaliuj, in amo itzin, amo itetzin, in mauhcatlacatl: amo çan vel could nowhere seize [the specter]. He only heard it, and, giving up the chase, left it in terror. He could not pursue it; he was exhausted, vexed; deadened was his body; he only went flattened on the ground; he could walk no more. So he knew that the night axe was an omen to him, only making sport and fun of him. Perchance sickness or death, or misery, slavery, and sin, [the specter] gave him when it came upon him.

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[4] [illegible]

[5] Quijoclia: either qui-iocolia or qui-iolia may be read. Cf. Molina, op. cit.

[6] Nenquiçaz: the tilde is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

cana, çanijo qujcaquj, çan icampa ontlacuecuetlaxoa, 787x
ontlacuecuechcaoa: amo vel qujtoca, çan onciammj-
quj, onmociauhcanequj, mjmjquj in jnacaio, ça 776 ●
vtlica chachapantiuh, aiocmo vel nenemj: ic qujmati
in çan oqujtetzauj ioaltepuztli, çan ica onmocaca-
iauh, ica ommaujlti: aço cocoliztli, mjqujliztli:
anoço icnoiotl, tlacujutl, tlatlaculli, in oqujmacac:
injc oqujmotlac.

[p.160 is blank]

Ninth Chapter, in which is related the omen which they regarded as a portent when an animal of strong stench, called a skunk,[1] now entered one's home or else sprayed and loosed an odor.

Likewise all regarded as an omen the skunk when it entered someone's home or there bore its young.

They said: "Now the householder will die"; because, so they said, its abode, its dwelling place, was by no means among houses, in one's home. Maize fields, meadows, maguey and cactus fields [were] its dwelling places and abodes.

Also, they supposed that it was the likeness of the demon Tezcatlipoca. And when it loosed an odor, when it loosed a foul odor at one, they said: "Tezcatlipoca breaketh wind."

And if someone tried to capture or chase it, thus it mocked and gibed him: it raised and lifted high its tail, and then, if it drew quite near one, it forthwith loosed its stench at him. Like one sprinkling, its spray appeared and was seen; like a rainbow it arose. And it penetrated one; its evil stench entered into one. With difficulty did it abandon him. So one's cape dropped — was cast aside, thrown away. [Its stench] was spread all over the area; it extended all over the region. It reached everywhere, and spread on people. So did its stink sicken one and molest one's nose.

And they said that when it arrived, when it was smelled, one should not spit. It was believed that if one spat, his hair would whiten; it would flare brightly. Hence they severely warned the children not to spit. When its stench was smelled, they only covered their mouths.

Ic chicunauj capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl in qujmotetzaujaia, in jquac centetl iolquj, in cenca hijac, in jtoca Epatl: in jquac ic oncalaquj ichân, auh anoço in jquac moxixa: mjexi. 787x 825

No ioan in epatl, netetzaujloia: in jquac aca ichan calaquj, anoço vncan mopilhóatia:

qujtoa, ic mjqujz in chane: ipampa iuh qujtovaia, ca amo inentla, amo inemja in calla, in techan: ca mjlpan, çacatla, memetla, nonopalla, in jnemjia, in jqujçaia.

No ipan qujmatia, ca ixiptla in tlacatecolotl, tezcatlipuca: auh in jquac mjexi, in teiexi, qujtoaia: omjex in tezcatlipuca. [176]

Auh intla aca canaznequj, in ace qujtoca: çan ic qujqueloa, ic ica mocaiaoa: cenca qujquetza, cacoquetza in jcujtlapil: auh qujnjquac, intla ie uel itech onaci: njman ic qujualiexi, iuhqujn aca tlaalpichia, vel neci, vel itto, in jiel: iuhqujn aiauhcoçamalotl, ic moquetza: auh vel temaoa, tetechaquj in ijel, aiaxcan tecaoa: ic vetzi, ic tlazo, ic tlaçalo in tetilma: vel centlalli momana, centlalli manj: nouijan aci, tepan moteca, injc yiac, injc tetlachi: teiacaxolocho.

Auh qujtoa, in jquac in eco, mjnecuj, auel onchicha: qujlmach intla aca onchichaz, quaztaliujz, comonjz: ic cenca qujntlacaoaltia, in tepilhoã: injc amo onchichazque: in jquac ineco yel: çan onmotempachóa. [827]

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[1] Seler, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 20.

[p. 172 is blank]

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Eleventh Chapter, in which is told the omen from which a portent was drawn when, at night, they saw the towering man, the giants.[1]

Likewise all regarded as an omen the towering man[2] when it was seen as an apparition at night. It was said: "But all this is the disguise, the transformation, of the demon Tezcatlipoca, with all of which he maketh sport of men."

When it was thus visible to someone, he thereby held it as an omen that he would either die in war or be carried off. But one who was very bold,[3] strong of heart or spirit, would not more let [it] go. He seized it firmly in his hands and hung on to it. He demanded thorns of it, thus seeking valor and the taking of captives.[4]

And it was said that one who was of simple mind, neither prudent nor determined, when he saw it only spat or hurled dung at it. But in nothing at all would it benefit him; it only cursed him with some misery, afflicted him, smote and brought disaster on him thereby, and visited him with the digging stick and the tump line.

And [when] he who was only a coward saw an apparition, in no way did he banish his fears. Indeed, he fainted and swooned away; he no longer had saliva—the roof of his mouth was all dry; his mouth was parched. His mouth stuck fast, no longer moist. Not now was his mouth wet. With caution he withdrew, leaving its presence. He no longer wished to look at it. He fled in terror, feeling, thinking that someone would now snatch him away. In some manner he went to reach his home and rushed inside it, bursting in through its door, coming in on all fours and throwing himself with outspread arms upon those who slept.

Ic matlactli oce capitulo, vncan motenehoa in tetzaujtl: injc motetzaujaia: in jquac iooaltica, qujmjttaia tlacaujiaque, qujnameti.

No yoan, netetzaujloia in tlacaujiac: in jquac iovaltica moteittitia, mjtoa: çan ie muche iiaoal, inecuepaliz in tlacatecolotl tezcatlipoca, much ic teca mocaiaoa:

in jquac aca iuh qujmottitia, ic qujtetzauja in aço ie iaomjquiz, aço ie vicoz. Auh in aqujn vel mjhiviotia, in iollotlapaliuj, in tonalchicavac, aiocmo qujcaoa, qujteteuhtzitzquja, itech mopiloa: qujtlanjlia in vitztli, injc qujtemolia oqujchiotl, in tlamaliztli.

Auh mjtoa in aqujn ahqujmamatcaoa, in amo iolizmatquj, in amo nenonotzale: in jquac oqujttac çan conchicha, anoço cujtlatl ic contepachoa: auh amo tle ic qujcnelia, çan no qujtelchioa, itla netolinjliztli ic qujteopoa, ic qujmotla, ic qujxeipoloa, aço victli, mecapalli qujttitia.

Auh in aqujn, çan vel mauhcatlacatl qujmottitia: njman amo conieccoa, in jtemamauhtiliz: vel çotlaoa, iolmjquj, aocmo chiche: vel icopac tlaoaquj, icamac tlapoliuj, icamac tlaçaçalia: aocmo tlapalti, aocmo tlapaltia in jcamac: çan tlamach contlalcavia, ixpampa ieoa: aocmo qujoalittaznequj, momauhcatlaloa: in juh momati, ie omma aca ie qujcujtiuetziz: in oquentelzin acito ichan, motlaloticalaquj, qujpetlaticalaquj in jtlatzacujl: tepan manenenticalaquj: tepan mamaçouhtiuetzi, in vncan cochioa.

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1. See Pl. 5. The corresponding Spanish text translates the term as [illegible]. Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 951, has the following mention: "QUINAMETZIN. m. pl. Los quinames; [illegible] del Anáhuac, [illegible] a los aztecas, a los cuales la leyenda asigna talla de gigantes y que [illegible] del [illegible], en Puebla, principalmente."

2. Garibay, op. cit., pp. 310-311, n. 13: "El 'hombre largo' ([illegible]), a lo que parece, era una fantasma que se alargaba hasta el cielo, como los [illegible]."

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "algun soldado valiente, y esforçado."

4. Ibid.: "que antes de [illegible] en la guerra tomar captivos, quantos pidiese le diese."

[p. 176 is blank]

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Twelfth Chapter, in which is related what was another omen, whose name was "bundle of ashes."[1]

Likewise there was an omen, which was a portent to them, the "bundle of ashes." Thus was it said: "Indeed, all this is the disguise, the reappearance, the apparition of Tezcatlipoca."

When it was seen, it only went rolling, groaning, and billowing. He who saw it then held it as an omen that he would die, either in war or of some sickness;[2] or that something evil would meet and fall upon him.

Whoever was not strong and sturdy of heart, who was just a coward, if it appeared to him, only fled and ran from its presence. Then it frightened and terrified him, lest soon he die or something evil should come upon him, etc.

But he who was sturdy of heart, one who was renowned as intrepid in war, then prepared, arrayed, and bedight himself. Then he thus took counsel with himself: at night he would hunt the wizards who walk everywhere. He went in pursuit of them—on all the wide ways where they dwelt at night. He went seeking it, that perchance somewhere it would appear to him; that he might demand from it his reward, his gift—thorns.

And if now one appeared before him like this one, he sought it out and seized it; he grasped it firmly in his hands, and clung to it. Not now did he let it go; he tortured it. He said to it: "Who art thou, O rogue? Speak to me! Fail not to speak! For I have taken thee, and I shall not let thee go." For a long time he persisted in torturing it.

When it spoke to and answered him, if now he vexed it, when, perhaps, it was about to dawn and morning to break, it said to him: "Loose me now! Thou harmest me! Whatsoever thy heart wisheth, I shall give thee. What shall I give thee?" It said: "Take it. I give thee a thorn."

"I will not have it; I will not take it!"

Ic matlactli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in oc centlamantli tetzaujtl catca: in jtoca catca: tlacanexqujmilli.

No yoan, tetzaujtl çatca, tetetzaujaia: in tlacanexqujmjlli, iuh mjtoa: çan ie muchi ich inaoal, inecuepaliz, inenextiliz in tezcatlipuca:

in jquac ittoia, çan momjmjlotiuh, qujqujnacatiuh, tehtentiuh. In aqujn qujttaia, ic qujtetzanuja, in ie mjqujz: aço iavc, anoço çan tlalmjqujz: anoce ytla, amo qualli ie qujmonamjctiz, ipan vetziz.

In aqújn amo iollochicaoac, in amo iollatlapaliuj, in çan mauhcatlacatl, intla oqujmottiti: çan ixpampa ichoa, motlaloa: vncan qujtonalcaoaltia, qujhiçavia: injc yciuhca mjqujz, anoço itla amo qualli qujmonamjctiz. etc.

Auh in aqujn, vel iollotlapaliuj: in moteneoa: iaotlaueliloc, ic nomanja, ic muchichioa, ic mocencaoa: njman iuh qujmolhuja, in iooaltica, naoaltetemoz, novijan nenemj: qujtotocatinemj, in ixquj vchpantli, iooalnenemj, qujtetemotinemj, in aço cana itla qujmottitiz: injc qujtlanjliz itenemac, iteicneliliz vitztli.

Auh intla ie oqujmottiti in juhquj y, qujtetemoa: qujcujtiuetzi, qujtetzuhtzitzquja, itech mopiloa: aocmo qujcaoa qujtlatoltia, qujluja: ac tehoatl jn nocne? xinechnotza, amommaca titlatoz: ca onjmjtzan, amo nimjtzcaoaz: vecauhtica qujnemjtia, in qujtlatoltia:

iquac qujnotza, qujnanqujlia intla ie caamana: in ace ipan tlathvitznequj, in ace qujtlathujltia, qujlvia: xinechcaoa ie tinechitlacoa, tlein qujnequj moiollo: njmjtzmacaz, tlein tinechmacaz: qujluja, yzca njmjtzmaca, ce vitztli:

amo njcia, amo njccelia

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[1] Cf. Garibay, op. cit., p. 331, n. 14. The corresponding Spanish text describes them as *vnas fantasmas: que nj tienen pies, ni cabeça: las quales andan rodando por el suelo, y dando gemidos, como enfermo.*"

[2] *Ibid.*: "*moria . . . en breue de su enfermedad.*"

X 787 "What shall I do?" It offered him two, three, four [thorns].

● 776 Verily, not for them did he loose it. Later, when it gratified and satisfied him, it now said: "I give thee all prosperity. Thou shalt be honored on earth." Then he released it;[3] for in truth he had realized what his heart sought—for which he had lived sighing and in discontent, etc.

tle njcchioaz, vme, Ey, nauj qujmaca:

ça nel amo ic qujcaoa: qujnjquac in oqujiolpachiujti, in oqujiolpachiuhcaioti in ic qujluja: muchi njmjtzmaca in necujltonolli, titlamaviçoz in tlalticpac: yquac qujcoa: ca nel oconjttac in qujtemoa ijollo, injc oelciciuhtinenca, onentlamattinenca. Etc.

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[3] [illegible] quitoma is meant.

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Thirteenth Chapter, in which are told the rest of the omens which showed themselves at night.

Likewise all took as an omen [what] appeared before them called "hunched shoulder," or "little maize basket." In Acolhuacan it was called "little squashed one."[1] Thus were they named.

They said that they showed themselves to men only at the latrines, the dung heaps. If someone wished to urinate, and went forth quite alone at night, when, perhaps, the moon shone or it was dark, then they appeared to him. All this now only revealed to him an omen of death. He to whom it appeared thus took it as a portent that now he would die, or something would now befall him. But if he did not so do, it only terrified him.

And thus did it look—like a little girl, indeed, quite small; a very little girl, not a bit tall—only small like a sandal, a little cooking pot; a squat dwarf, pressed down like dung. She had hair, much hair, [flowing] like a garment, a mantle of hair, hanging. Clear to her hips did her hair fall—her mantle of hair. And as she walked, she only went creeping on the surface of the ground, waddling.[2]

He to whom she appeared could not catch her. If, now, he pursued her, she only disappeared from before him; thus she only mocked him. Further off, apart, she appeared. He pursued her there, he who tried to catch her; she vanished away. So he only let her alone, in terror; she tired him out; he was defrauded.

Just so, the severed head also appeared to the people at night. To him to whom it appeared, it often made known [its presence] by suddenly springing at the calf of his leg. Or else he heard it behind him, coming rattling[3] as it took after him.

Ic matlactli omei capitulo, vncan motenecoa: yn oc cequj tetzavitl, in iooaltica monextiaia.

No yoan, netetzaujloia moteittitiaia: in jtoca cujtlapanton, anoço cintanaton: mjtoa in acolhoacan centlapachton: iuh tocaiotilo.

Qujtoa, çan vncan in neaxixaloian, in tlaçúlpan moteittitiaia: intla ie aca axixmjquj, in çan icel iooaltica qujça: in aço metztona, anoço tlaiooa: iquac qujmottitia: çan ich much ie qujnextiaia in mjqujztetzaujtl. In aqujn qujmottitia, ic qujtetzanvia in ace miqujz, anoço itla ipan ie muchioaz: auh yn acanoço tlei, çan conmamauhtia:

auh injc ittoia, iuhqujn civapiltontli, çan vel tepiton, civapiltepiton: amo achi quauhtic: çan cacapanton, chachapaton, tzapaton, cujtlapachton, tzonqueme, tzotzonqueme, tzotzoquenpile: vel icujtlacaxiuhian vetzi, in jtzon, in jtzonquen: auh injc nenemj çan tlalli ixco onotiuh, pepeiocatiuh,

amo vel cana in qujmottitia: intla ie qujtoca çan ixpan ompolivi, çan jc qujqueloa: iene cecnj, in valmonextia: vmpa qujtoca in canaznequj ompoliuhtiuh: çan iuh commauhcacaoa, conciauhcaoa, ommonenencoa.

Çan ie no iuhquj in tzontecomatl, no moteittitia in iooaltica: in aqujn qujmottitia, çan jc qujmachitia, amo inemachpan in jcotzco choloa: anoce icampa, concaquj chachalcativitz, in qujualtoca: ic ixpampa iehoa, icampa chachalcatiuh in qujtoca.

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "*una mujer pequeña enana.*" Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 326: "'*El enanillo.*' *Ser fantástico que era agüero.*" Centlapachton is [illegible] (*ibid.*, p. 332).

[2] Corresponding Spanish text: "*una mujer pequeña enana . . . que traía los cabellos largos: hasta la cinta, y su andar, era como una anadeando.*"

[3] Cf. *ibid.* In Molina, op. cit., however, *chachalaca* is to scold. On *chachalaca*, see Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 476.

X 787 ●776 So he fled from its presence; back of him it went rattling at him as it pursued him. And if he stood, if he stopped in alarm, it also sat, and remained rattling. And if he gathered courage to seize it quickly, it only mocked him for doing so. Far did it rise when it jumped; he could not catch it. Hence, in the same manner, he let it alone in his fear; from its presence he fled, exerting all force in order to run terrified to his home.

X 787 775 Just so the dead also appeared to people. They were in [funeral] wrappings, with head wrappings, and were groaning. If, somewhere, one appeared before one, it moaned at him. Only the valiant could venture toward it in order to seize it and cling to it. But then it only made sport of them: perhaps a clump of grass or a hard clod remained in their hands. [776] Thus they quickly transformed themselves. So it was said that all this was only a disguise of Tezcatlipoca by which he mocked men. Etc.

The omen of the linnet.[4]

X 787 825 The linnet is a bird like a woodpecker,[5] and far into the forest is its home. And when it cried out at someone, it was taken as an omen.[6] They said: "It is not a good time that we have come; for something will spring out on us."

The omen of the coyote.

[776] They said it was Tezcatlipoca. Often he disguised himself as a coyote; and this coyote often intercepted men on the road. And when he did this, then was heard: "This is by no means a good time for him who goeth; perhaps thieves or robbers are somewhere on the road, or something harmful will spring out at them."

Here end the omens which the natives
of New Spain took as portents.

Auh intla moquetza, motilquetza, no motlalia chachalcatinemj: auh intla omoiollochichili, injc qujcujtiuetzis çan jc qujquelos, ueca ieoa in cholos, amo uel cana: çan no iuh conmauhcacaoa: ixpampa ieoa: iaqujch qujtoctia, injc momauhcatlalos ichan.

Çan ie no iuhquj in mjcquj, no moteittitiaia: yilpitica, quaquailpitica, quiqujnacatica: in cana moteittitiaia; tequjqujnatza: çan ichoan in jollochicavaque, vel iujc motlapaloa in qujcujtiuetzi: itech mopiloa. Auh injc çan inca mocacaiaoa, aço tlachcujtl, anoço tlaquavac tetl in jmmac mocauhtiqujça: injc mocueptiuetzi: iuh mjtoa, ca çan muchi ich, inaoal in tezcatlipuca injc teca mocacaiaoaia etc.

Tetzauitl itechpa chiqujmoli.

In chiqujmoli, ca centetl tototl, iuhqujn quauhchochopitli: auh veca quauhtla in jchan. Auh in iqc tepan tzatzia, netetzaujloia: qujtovaia, ca amo qualcan, in otioallaque: ca itla ipan tichololzque.

Tetzauitl itechpa in coiutl.

Qujtoaia, ca in tezcatlipuca: mjiecpa qujmonaoaltiaia in Coiutl: auh injn coiutl, mjiecpa teiaiacatzacujlia in vtlica. Auh in jquac iuh qujchioa y, njman ic mocaquj, ca amo qualcan in viloa: aço ichtecque, anoço tetlatlaçaltique, cana vtlica cate: anoço itla ipan chololoatiuh, in tecoco.

Nican tzonqujça in tetzavitl,
yn qujtetzammatia, njcan nueua
españa tlaca.

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[4] Molina, op. cit.: sirguerito pajaro; Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 514 (chiquimole): jilguerillo—especie de jilguero. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 334: "Ave canora, semejante parlera. . . . Dryobates scalaris bairdi."

[5] Quauhchochopitli: Nardo Antonio Reccho, in Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus seu Plantarum Animalium Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia ex Francisci Hernandez (Rome: Vitalis Mascardi, 1651), p. 33, appendix, heads Chap. XCIV, "De Quauhchochopitli, seu Avicula ligna excavante," and writes: "Avicula est, Mexicanae Cornicis forma, & magnitudine, plumis nigris, aut pullis, lineis albis, transversim discurrentibus distinctis; ventre, pectoreque, eiusdem colore: lingua pleraque more, quarum est species praelonga: vivit in frigidis, & arbores rostro excavando prima excavat."

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: "las bozes del pito [maggie]: quando le oyan bozear en las montañas."

825 235 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

825 235 837 It was said that also the same befell those who were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse, whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**

● 776 787 At night walked demons — perchance wizards and sorcerers — where they harmed one in one's home. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaqujco, anoço oqujmjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oqujntlaçolmjcti: ic qujmatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

Qujl no iuh inpan muchioa in namjqueque: in aço cana qujtlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toqujchtin: injc qujmati, çan qujpiqui in aaquetztivetzi, anoce cana motlavitequj.

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl qujqujti.

In jcpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in jquac qujqujti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviaqujxtiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, qujtoaia: qujlmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

In jquac qujavi, in cenca tecivi: in aqujn vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli qujiaoac qujoaltepeoa, itvalco: qujlmach yc amo teciviloz in jmjl, qujl ic poliui in tecivitl.

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

In ioaltica nemj tlatlacateculo: aço nanaoalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oqujmjttaque in aço itla ic qujnpoloa in chaneque: njman atlan conteca ytztli puertatitlan, anoço itoalco qujmana in iooaltica, qujtoaia: qujlmach vncan onmotezcavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjcoaz, anoce cocoliztli tepan muchioaz.

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[27] Corresponding Spanish text: *"los pollos se cayan muertos, los pies arriba: y esto, llaman tlaçolmjqui."*

[28] Corresponding Spanish text: *"se parecia, en que la tela, se parecia [illegible]."* Cuecueço, in Siméon, *op. cit.*, is to make a false seam.

At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman choloa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oqujttaque itztli, atlan onoc. 754 776 789

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal. 825

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualiaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualiaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl. 826 776

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Qujlmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in iehoatl avitzotl, qualli qujxoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujxtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli. 827

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechteneoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nêchicoitoa, anoçe qujtoa: aqujque in noca mononotza. Qujl iehoatl qujnezcaiotiaia, iehoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujnteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti. 853

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In iehoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjz, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, qujlmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo motolinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

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[29] Corresponding Spanish text: *"de hurto, o de adulterio, o de otra cosa."*

[30] *Auitzotl:* Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spectral water animal or sprite "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of intoxicated men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*ahuizote*), calls it *nutria o perro del agua* (Lutra felina).

[31] Corresponding Spanish text: *"quando comian, o bevian en presencia de algun niño."*

[32] *Ibid.: "en la boca."*